BERNARD J. BETTELHEIM AND OKINAWA: A STUDY OF THE FIRST PROTESTANT MISSIONARY TO THE ISLAND KINGDOM, 1846 - 1854

by

Yoshihiko Teruya

B.A., University of the Ryukyus, 1954

M.A., University of Colorado, 1958

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate
School of the University of Colorado in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
Department of History
1969

This Thesis for the Doctor of Philosophy Degree by

Yoshihiko Teruya

has been approved for the

Department of

History

by

Earl Swisher

Earl Swisher

Joyce C. Lebra

Joyce C. Lebra

Date October 13, 1969

Teruya, Yoshihiko (Ph.D., History)

Bernard J. Bettelheim and Okinawa: A Study of the First
Protestant Missionary to the Island Kingdom,
1846-1854.

Thesis directed by Professor Earl Swisher

The life of the first Protestant missionary to Okinawa, Bernard J. Bettelheim, attracted many authors to write about him. The present study is an attempt to portray a comprehensive picture of the missionary and his counterpart, the islanders. The study has tried to be comprehensive in its scope by taking into due consideration the internal and international relations concerning Bettelheim. As to the materials in this study, an effort was made to cover all available materials in Japanese, English, Chinese, and French.

The idea of sending a missionary was born in the mind of a pious English naval officer, Herbert J. Clifford, who visited the island in 1816. A society called the Loochoo Mission was established in 1843. Bettelheim, a converted Jew and a physician, was sent to the island as lay missionary. Bettelheim's residence on the island (1846-54) was possible under rapidly changing international situations which greatly affected

the Ryukyu kingdom. Bettelheim came from England which in the recent Opium War defeated China, the patron of the Ryukyu kingdom. In addition, the ambitious French captains frequently appeared in Okinawan waters.

The frequent visit of Western warships affected the island kingdom as a pressure, and the government could not expel the Bettelheims from the island for fear of the possible retaliatory action by England. To the kingdom which was pledged to observe the Japanese seclusion policy, strict surveillance over the family as honorable prisoners was the last resort.

The settlement of the Bettelheims on the island became something more than a local problem. The Bettelheim problem was discussed in the three capitals -- Edo, Peking, and London. Eight years before the opening of Japan by Commodore Perry, some leaders of Japan moved toward the partial change of the age-old seclusion policy at the Ryukyus: communication and trade with France, later with England, were permitted under an unavoidable case, but missionary work for Westerners should be strictly forbidden. The promoter of the new policy was the Satsuma Clan, the master of the Ryukyu kingdom. The same Satsuma

Clan soon became the chief advocate to destroy the Bakufu, bringing about the Meiji Restoration in 1868.

Japan and China eventually were powerless to remove the missionary. England, however, was reluctant to strengthen Bettelheim's activities on the island. Without much help from the outside, the Ryukyuan officials and Bettelheim had to cope with their own difficulties on the same island. Under strict surveillance, Bettelheim energetically engaged in missionary, medical, and translation works. Sometimes, he was assaulted by the officials and mobs.

The peak of the persecution was from November, 1849 to January, 1850. Seeing the frequent visits of Western ships after that time, the Ryukyuan surveillance became more lax. Most of his achievements in missionary, medical, and translation works were done during the latter part of his stay. Smallpox vaccination was introduced, and many poor islanders received his medical care. Several portions of the New Testament were translated into the native tongue. Under difficult conditions, some converts and four dozen inquirers in Christianity were made by him.

Throughout his stay on the island, not only commoners but also the lesser officials showed great interest in the new religion, Western medicine, and

other things foreign despite the official prohibition against the people's approach to the foreigners. This also indicates how reluctantly the islanders observed the outdated seclusion policy imposed by the Shogunate in Edo.

This abstract is approved as to form and content.
I recommend its publication.

Signed Earl Swisher
Faculty member in charge of dissertation

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER PAGE

I INTRODUCTION 1

II THE "GOLDEN AGE" OF THE MISSION (May 1846-Oct. 1847)

1. First Protestant Missionary to Okinawa 25
2. Edo-Kagoshima-Shuri Relations . . . 45
3. Language study and propagation . . . 60
4. The English Free Hospital 123

III THE THORNY PATH (Oct. 1847 - Oct. 1850)

1. Persecution commenced 137
2. Peking-London-Shuri Relations . . . 186
3. The intensification of persecution . 213
4. Translation work and medical service 255

IV AFTER THE REYNARD (Oct. 1850 - July 1854)

1. The stalemate after the visit of the Reynard 268
2. Smallpox vaccination 318
3. Translation work 333
4. American visitors 346
5. Farewell to Okinawa and the LNM . . 369

V CONCLUSION 383

BIBLIOGRAPHY 390

FOREWORD

This is a study on the first Protestant missionary to Okinawa. The man was Bernard J. Bettelheim (1811-70). Because of his extraordinary capacity, he performed many roles, perhaps more than any other missionary could do. First of all, he was a Gospel preacher. Then, he was a physician, translator, and interpreter. Thus, his whole life was colorful. He was born a Hungarian Jew, studied medicine in Italy, served in the Egyptian and Turkish armies, turned a Christian, and became a British subject. He then struggled for the Gospel in a tiny island in the Western Pacific for eight years, served as interpreter for the Perry Expedition to Japan, 1853-1854, went to the New World, and joined the Northern Army in the American Civil War.

Although his life itself was kaleidoscopic, the island where he stayed had been passing through the crucial years of modern Japanese history. It was on the eve of the opening of Japan to the world. The leaders of the island were at a loss to cope with fast-moving East Asian affairs since the Opium War. His appearance among the islanders increased their confusion and perplexity. Under the pressure of the Japanese seclusion policy, the authorities of the island kingdom made every effort to expel the missionary from the island. But Bettelheim stood there as firm as a rock until he found his successor. Such was the state of affairs that he was able to convert only a few of the natives to Christianity.

The ground I traversed has been covered by the Rev. Earl R. Bull, Professors Yoshida Tsunekichi, Higaonna Kanjun, and several authors. However, some of the materials I have used are different and unearthed only lately, and I venture to think some new light is thrown upon some problems relating to Bettelheim. The new materials which I found come from several sources. Mrs. Auby Hampton of Kansas City, a descendant of the missionary, generously gave me the chance to copy his extant original diaries and letters. I used Chinese documents from the *Ch'ing Tai Ch'ou Pan I Wu Shih Mo*, a collection of documents of the Ch'ing relating to foreign countries and foreign affairs, 1836-75, which were used for the first time in this problem.

The same is true of those from the separate volume of the *Li Tai Pao An*, a collection of the correspondence between the Ch'ing government and the

Ryukyuan kingdom. The copied diaries of the missionary and various publications from the Loochoo Mission Society, Bettelheim's sponsor, are found in the Bull Collection at the University of the Ryukyus Library. Most of the materials in the Collection are hitherto untouched even by the collector himself, the Rev. Bull. A collection of the early correspondence between Bettelheim and the Ryukyuan government called the Lin Ch'i Chi has scarcely been touched by the previous studies. The above materials are in Japanese, Chinese, English, and French. Thus, I have tried to delineate the first comprehensive picture on the problem.

Asian personal names in this study are given in the usual Asian order, i.e., family name followed by given name. Since the dates in the materials have four different calender origins -- the Japanese lunar, the Chinese lunar, the Gregorian, and the Julian calendars, all the dates in this study are changed into the exact Gregorian equivalent. The process was aided by the Chin Tai Chung Hsi Shi Jih Tui Chao Piao [Day-by-day Concordance of Modern Chinese-Western Chronology], edited by Chêng Hao-sheng, published at Shanghai in 1936, and also by the Sansei Sōran [Chronological Conspectus of the Three Governments], prepared by the Home Ministry of the Japanese Government in 1880.

I would like to acknowledge my indebtedness and gratitude to all those who helped me in the course of the preparation of this study. First of all, thanks are due to the United States Government. Without its generous financial assistance, this study could not have been completed. I also wish to thank Mrs. Auby Hampton of Kansas and the Reverend Earl R. Bull for permission to use the materials relating to Bettelheim.

Professor Earl Swisher, who has supervised my work, has contributed largely to this study both by his teaching and by his encouragement, while Professor Joyce C. Lebra has given me valuable criticism and advice on a number of points. I am also indebted to Mrs. Mary Suzuki for aid in proofreading. To them all I express my thanks. Although the suggestions of many individuals have been heard and a number of them have been incorporated into the present study, it need hardly be stated that it is I alone who bear full responsibility for its contents.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The history of Christianity in the Ryukyus[1] began in the year 1622 when two converts became the first martyrs because of their faith. This tragedy resulted from the enforcement of the anti-Christian law by the Satsuma Clan of southern Kyushu, Japan. A decade before the tragedy, the kingdom of Ryukyu had lost its sovereignty to the Satsuma Clan by the invasion of 1609. The island kingdom had enjoyed complete independence for four hundred years prior to the invasion. Having already been known for her trade in Far Eastern waters, Ryukyu established tributary relations with the Celestial Empire in 1372. Her trade flourished for another two hundred years, though gradually declining. This miniature kingdom was suddenly invaded by the strong neighbor, the Satsuma Clan, in 1609. Ryukyu was not a match for the Satsuma army, for the former had disarmed herself a century before and enjoyed peaceful commerce.

---

[1] Ryukyu (Liu Ch'iu in the Chinese reading) was given by the Chinese to denote the islands stretching between Japan proper and Formosa. Hence, the archipelago has been known under this name to foreigners, having many variant spellings, such as, Lew Chew, Loo Choo, and Lieou-K'ieou, and the like. Okinawa has its Japanese origin. At first it was the name of the biggest island in the archipelago, but, later, especially after the Meiji Restoration, it represents the area. Thus, Ryukyu and Okinawa are quite interchangeable to denote the area.

The main purpose of the invasion, though Satsuma made some pretext, was to monopolize the benefit from the Ryukyuan trade with the Ming, which had banned all trade with Japan since Toyotomi Hideyoshi's Korean campaigns (1590, 1596). The shrewd Satsuma thus seized the treasure box in the south by force. As a result of the invasion, the kingdom became a sort of Satsuma colony. In 1611, Satsuma's basic policy for ruling the kingdom was formulated to allow the latter to be independent nominally as one of China's tributary states but in substance to make the kingdom Satsuma's vassal. The reason for maintaining the title of the "kingdom" was to exploit the profit from the Ryukyuan trade with Ming which allowed trade only under the tributary system.[2] It goes without saying that Ryukyuan relations with China were under the supervision of Satsuma, while concealing the fact from Peking.

---

[2] As to China's traditional attitudes toward tributary states, see John Fairbank and S. Y. Teng, "On the Ch'ing Tributary System," Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies, v. VI, No. 2 (June, 1941), pp. 135-246.

As time went on, Peking was fully aware of Satsuma-Ryukyuan relations. However, the Celestial Empire not only annulled further relation with the Ryukyus, but also allowed the latter to keep the tributary relation as if Satsuma-Ryukyuan relations did not come to her knowledge at all. Therefore, from the invasion of 1609 to the Meiji Restoration, the so-called dual subjugation of the Ryukyu kingdom to China and Satsuma persisted for more than two centuries. Directly or indirectly Satsuma excercised its strong power over every phase of Ryukyuan life. Such being the case, the anti-Christian policy of the Tokugawa Shogunate was extended to the kingdom through Satsuma's political machine. The first martyrs became the victims of the rigid policy emanating from Satsuma.

After the 1622 affair, some other attempts were made by missionaries to the area, to no avail. Consequently, elaborate measures were imposed by Satsuma on the kingdom to meet the seclusion policy of the Shogunate. Satsuma issued a prohibitive law of 1636 against all Christian beliefs and activities in Ryukyu. Every Ryukyuan official pledged before the representative from Satsuma called the zaiban bugyō (Satsuma's resident commissioner) to carry out the prohibitive order. In each administrative district, the official had to report the annual investigation of denominations of the populace to Shuri, the capital of the kingdom. Without knowing the exact nature of Christianity, the people were given an evil image of Christianity through the official propaganda media.

For the first fifty years after the ban, the arrival of foreigners to the Ryukyuan shores were recorded well in Ryukyuan documents. But such records became scarce during the eighteenth century. We do not know whether it was due to cessation of their coming or governmental neglect to record them. In due course, the annual investigation tended to become a mere formality for both the authorities and the people until the end of the eighteenth century.[3]

The arrivals of Westerners were frequently recorded again from the end of the eighteenth century. From this time islanders met the new faces in the new setting. Instead of the old acquaintances like the Portuguese, Spaniards, or Dutch, the newcomers were from England, France, North America, and even from Russia. They were well equipped with formidable arms and a fleet, products of technological development after the Industrial Revolution. From about the turn of the century, the Ryukyuans saw many Western ships coming into Ryukyuan waters. Whalers, merchant ships, surveyors, and battle ships occasionally touched on the Ryukyuan coast. Between 1800 and 1846, more than twenty Western ships anchored in, drifted, or wrecked there. The islanders were watching the coming ships in constant suspense.

---

[3] Majikina Ankō, Okinawa Issen'nen Shi [A Thousand Years History of Okinawa], Naha, 1952, pp. 280-83.

Among the ships which visited the islands before 1846, there was an expedition carrying a naval officer who later founded the Loo Choo Mission Society. The expedition was commanded by Captain Sir Murray Maxwell, R.N. in 1816. H.M.S. the Alceste and the Lyra escorted the British Envoy, Lord Amherst, to the Ch'ing court. While waiting for Lord Amherst's return in the Yellow Sea, the fleet decided to survey the eastern waters of China. After the surveying cruise along the west coast of Korea, they touched at the island of Okinawa on September 15, 1816. The English sailors stayed there forty days, establishing friendship with the islanders. Their observations on the island were later described in two accounts by the members of the expedition.[4]

To their great surprise, the sailors were warmly welcomed and treated well by the islanders. Captain Hall, of the *Lyra*, stated: "No people we have met with have been so friendly . . . . All this seemed to promise well, and was particularly grateful after the cold repulsive manners of the Coreans [Koreans]."[5] During their stay there, the English engaged in surveying Okinawan waters and exchanged official visits with the Ryukyuan authorities graciously. A crowd of the people also visited the strangers daily, though neither could communicate with the other by language. When one sailor died, commoner as well as mandarin, wearing mourning dress, joined the funeral as if the dead was his own countryman.

On the day of their departure from the island, a multitude of the people gathered at the port to see them off. All these events occurred in their short stay; it is no wonder that the visitors cast an image of the last paradise on the island. The two major accounts of their visit to East Asia were published soon in London, and both were translated into Dutch and French within a year after the publication of the English versions. These certainly helped to create the lyric image of the islanders among Westerners for many years to come.

---

[4] See Basil Hall, *An Account of a Voyage of Discovery to the West Coast of Corea and the Great Loo-Choo Island*...., London, 1818, pp. 57-201; and John M'Leod, M.D., *Narrative of a Voyage, in His Majesty's late ship Alceste, to the Yellow Sea, along the Coast of Corea, and through the Numerous and Hitherto Undiscovered Islands, to the Island of Lewchew*...., London, 1817, 323 p.

[5] Hall, *ibid.*, pp. 61-62.

A young lieutenant from Ireland, Herbert John Clifford (c. 1789-1855), shared the same view as other members of the expedition. The friendship and kindness shown by the islanders had never disappeared from his mind even a quarter century later. There was especially one thing with which he could not always feel at ease. Later, he stated:

> One Sabbath day, while we remained amongst them [Ryukyuans], I was asked by the attendant chiefs who had been dismissed from the "Alceste," while Divine service was going on -- "What are they doing on board the big ship that we are sent away?" I replied, "They are chinchinning Joss (worshipping God) -- just as you do." My conscience has smitten me ever since for this reply, but I knew not the Lord at that time and sinned ignorantly.[6]

---

[6] Loochoo Naval Mission (LNM), ed., The Claims of Loo Choo on British Liberality, 5th ed., London, c. 1850, irregular pagination, sec. entitled "The Gospel in China, Island of Loo Choo ," p. 3.

What he really repented of was that "being at that time in unbelief . . . he omitted the opportunity of making known to them truth as it is in Jesus."[7] After retiring from the Royal Navy in 1817, Clifford joined the Irish Coast Guard Service. Besides his service on the sea, he became much interested in religion. Before he launched the Loochoo Mission Society in 1843, Clifford had long been active in the Dingle Mission to convert Roman Catholics to the Church of Ireland which was very closely allied to the Church of England.[8]

As he received the latest news about Okinawa, his concern with the cause of the Ryukyus grew enormously until it became a sort of obsession: The Claims of Loo-Choo on British Liberality. This became the title of the pamphlet appealing for the cause of the Loochoo Mission Society which he established.[9] To his countrymen, he appealed to the so-called "The Claims of Loo-Choo on British

---

[7] LNM, ed., The Seventh Report of the Loochoo Mission Society for 1851-52, London, 1853, p. 8.

[8] John Henry Bernards, The Bernards of Kerry, Dublin, 1922, pp. 85-96.

[9] Cited hereafter as The Claims of Loo Choo.

Liberality" by listing a series of admirable acts done by the islanders for Englishmen:

> In the year 1816 the islands of Loochoo were visited by H.M. ships the "Alceste" and "Lyra" . . . . Of the kindness and hospitable manner in which the officers and crews were received and treated, accounts were given from the graphic pens of Captain Hall and Mr. M'Leod. The same testimony was borne to them by Captain Eddis; by Captain Beechy, R.N., who visited in H.M.S. "Blossom," in 1826; and by Mr. Gutzlaff ⁅German missionary who became Chinese Secretary of the colonial government of Hongkong since 1843⁆, who visited in 1832.[10]

Especially, Clifford urged the public to know that on two occasions British seamen were rescued by islanders. In 1797, H.M.S. the Providence was wrecked near the island of Miyako, one of southern islands of the Ryukyus. The unfortunate crew were warmly received and their wants supplied by the islanders, so that Captain William R. Broughton later expressed his gratification to the islanders in his account.[11]

The latest was the wreck of the transport Indian Oak on the coast of Okinawa in 1840. The natives housed, fed well, and even offered the sailors a newly built ship for the purpose of sending them to China.[12] This series of events made a favorable impression on the British when they compared the islanders with other indifferent or even hostile neighboring nations -- Chinese, Koreans and Japanese. All these events including Clifford's visit convinced him that Okinawa was the place to be paid back by the Gospel. He later stated:

---

[10] LNM, ed., The Eighth Report of the Loochoo Mission for 1853-1854, London, 1855, p. 6.

[11] William Robert Broughton, A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean . . . in the Years 1795, 1796, 1797, and 1798, London, 1804, pp. 201-208.

> The question has sometimes been asked, "Why establish a Mission in the islands of Loochoo when there are so many more important fields for missionary operations?" It may be enough to answer that the Gospel must be preached to every creature. . . . they [the British] would not lose sight of the fact that Great Britain owes a debt of gratitude to Loochoo, and that, consequently, British Christians are more peculiarly called upon to repay that debt by sending the Gospel to those [people]. . . .[13]

The idea of sending of a mission to the island was further encouraged by the new situation developed in the Far East: the Opium War and the aftermath. Five treaty ports were opened and restrictions on foreigner's activities were further eased. Since Clifford, like his contemporaries, did not know the

---

[12] J.J.B. Bowman, "Account of the Wreck of the Indian Oak," The Nautical Magazine and Naval Chronicle for 1841, London, 1841, pp. 299-308, 385-94.

[13] LNM, ed., The Eighth Report of the Loochoo Mission Society for 1853-1854, p. 5.

Satsuma-Ryukyuan relationship, Clifford thought the chance had come to launch his project to the kingdom which he supposed to be a part of the Celestial Empire. He wrote: ". . . the Lord has now opened a wide door in China Proper, and no necessity remains to form a deport for Missionaires at Loochoo."[14]

The first step Clifford took was to ask the existing missionary societies, namely, the Church Missionary, London Missionary, and Moravian Missionary Societies, to dispatch one of their missionaries to Okinawa, only to fail. They notified him of "their inability to take up this Christian enterprise for want of funds and men."[15] The stand of the Church Missionary Society was explained later:

> . . . in 1843 they [Clifford and his friends] applied to the Church Missionary Society to send a man to Loochoo. At that time, . . . the Committee were retrenching rather extending; and if they sent a man to Eastern Asia at all, China had the prior claim --whither the first two Church Missionaries, Smith and McClatchie, went in the next year; they therefore declined the proposal.[16]

---

[14] The Claims of Loo Choo, sec. entitled "The Gospel in China, Island of Loo-Choo," p. 4.

[15] LNM, ed., Prospectus of the Loochoo Mission, Apr. 24, 1844, p. 2.

[16] Eugene Stock, The History of the Church Missionary Society, v. II, London, 1899, p. 597.

Such being the case, Clifford and his naval friends decided to set up their own society.

On February 9, 1843, one statement to raise funds for the mission appeared in the Achill Missionary Herald, a monthly journal. It was first called the Loochoo Mission. They especially appealed to the naval men who had once been to the Ryukyus. Even to the wives of naval men, Clifford appealed:

> The country /Ryukyu/ over which they /the Englishmen/ passed was in a high state of cultivation . . . . The women they chanced to see appeared most wretched, their occupation being laborious, and it is to be feared, not well treated. It thus appears, that however civilization may be advanced, . . . Christianity, and Christianity alone, ever raises the condition of females, and removes the curse pronounced at the fall. May this consideration stimulate the happier Females of favoured Britain . . to exert themselves for the Loochoo Mission.[17]

In the first year of its existence, a sum of over three hundred pounds was raised for the purpose. In 1844, the mission changed its name slightly. The occasion was described by Clifford:

> When writing to a Naval Commander (in 1844), who had been an old messmate in India, for a few Rupees, his reply was, "I'll not only give you a few Rupees, but I'll lend you a hand --

---

[17] The Claims of Loo Choo, sec. entitled "Visit To the Loochoo Islands in 1840," p. 1.

> let us at once make it a 'Blue Jacket affair'" -- hence it became a Naval Mission.[18]

Thus, the Loochoo Naval Mission became the new name for the society.[19] The officials of the society consisted of naval men. The Duke of Manchester, Commander, R. N., became its Patron, and three admirals became vice-patrons. Below them, there was a committee of seven naval officers. Then three honorary secretaries were appointed, Clifford being assigned for Ireland.[20] The mission did not have a particular office; all business of the mission was conducted by Clifford and Captain Downes, a committee member and later trustee, through the post.[21]

By December, 1845, the fund had increased to a little over thousand pounds, more than enough to send a missionary to Okinawa. The society, however, planned originally to send two married missionaries, -- "the one a clergyman of the Church of England, the other a pious Medical Gentleman." It was calculated that the annual expense of two missionaries would be three hundred pounds. Their dream to send two missionaries never materialized, except for five months in 1854, in the entire history of the LNM, 1843-61. At any rate in 1845 sufficient funds were raised for the mission. They now sought for a suitable man to be sent to Okinawa. There were a few applicants, but the society chose a newly naturalized physician for their purpose on July 4, 1845.

---

[18] Ibid., sec. entitled "Appendix," p. 2.

[19] The Loochoo Naval Mission was named after 1844. However, they frequently omitted the word "naval" in their publication, probably hoping to expand the supporters beyond those who connected only with the navy. The present writer found the name of the mission written in several variant ways, namely, the Loochoo Mission, Loochoo Naval Mission, Loo Choo Mission Society, and Loochoo Naval Mission Society. Hereafter, the name of the society will be cited as the LNM (Loochoo Naval Mission) in this study.

[20] LNM, ed., Prospectus of the Loochoo Mission, p. 2.

[21] LNM, ed., The Seventh Report of the Loochoo Mission Society for 1851-1852, p. 16.

Bernard Jean Bettelheim (1811-70) was their choice. Here is an Address of the society concerning the appointment of Bettelheim:

> He [Bettelheim] has testimonials (testimonials perhaps unsurpassed by any missionary who has gone forth from this land to the heathen) . . . . Dr. B. [sic.] is of middle age, and in good health. He is a physician and surgeon. Dr. B. was seven years ago converted from Judaism to the faith of Christ; since which he continually engaged in missionary work, both among Jews and Gentiles. He is a good linguist, speaking ten or twelve languages . . . . He is now making progress in the Chinese and Loochooan languages; and, as far as the Committee can form an opinion from their acquaintance with him, and examination of his testimonials as to

> character and qualification appears to be a man fit to stand before the "King of Loochoo" and his people as the representative of the Christianity of Britain.[22]

In order to know his background more clearly, it is necessary to add some further remarks. He was born in June 1811 in Pressburg, Hungary. His father was a very strict Jew named Moses, a merchant.[23] Bernard's linguistic capacity was so remarkable that at the age of nine years he was able to write verses and letters in Hebrew, German, and French. When but a little over thirteen years old he left his home and supported himself as a language tutor during the course of his education.[24] He studied medicine, specializing in cholera, and took his M.D. degree at Padua, Italy, in 1836.

For the next few years he served as surgeon in the Egyptian navy and a Turkish regiment. In Budjah, near Smyrna, Bettelheim met two representatives of the Church Missionary Society, John A. Jetter and Fjellstadt. Under their guidance, he began to study Christianity. He finally broke his tie with Judaism after writing a polemical article in French against the local rabbis.[25] A British chaplain of Smyrna, Rev. William Lews, baptized him in the same year.[26]

---

[22] The Claims of Loo Choo, sec. entitled "Address," Oct. 20, 1845, p. 1.

[23] Letter of A.J. Grossman, a nephew of the missionary, of 24 Millan St. Bloomsby W.C.I., London, dated Oct. 3, 1927, no indication of addressee, in possession of Mrs. Auby Hampton, the fourth in descent from the missionary, of 5315 W. 64th Terrace, Shawnee Mission, Kansas.

[24] Memorandum of the late Arthur E. Bettelheim, the third in descent from the missionary, n.d. [d. 1920's], in possession of Mrs. Hampton, his daughter, p. 1.

After his conversion, Bettelheim was sent to London under the direction of the London Society for promoting Christianity among the Jews.[27] He arrived in England in September,1840. In London, after failing to obtain ordination from the Bishops of the established church, he was connected with the London Society, an independent church, and the London Jews' Society respectively for a brief time. In 1843 he was married to Miss Elizabeth Mary Barwich (1821-72), the only daughter of a wealthy Christian thread manufacturer. In due time, he was naturalized by a special act of Parliament.[28] Prior to his engagement by the LNM, Bettelheim had been to some extent practicing medicine besides his futile attempts to engage in missionary work among the Jews abroad.

---

[25] Bernard J. Bettelheim, "La Ruin du Talmud," L'Echo de l'Orient (Smyrna), No. 84 (1840), i, 20 p.

[26] Earl R. Bull, "Trials of the Trail Blazer, Bettelheim," Japan Evangelist (Tokyo), v. XXXII, No. 2, p. 53. The Rev. Bull is one of the pioneers in studying Bettelheim. He has done an excellent study on Bettelheim's biography.

[27] Memo. of Arthur E. Bettelheim, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

Then, the LNM and Bettelheim met in 1845. The society was pleased to find such a qualified man for their purpose. He had zeal for his new faith, his medical profession, and had an excellent linguistic capacity. The only anxiety of the society was the paucity of his ministerial education and experience. However, an agreement was reached between the LNM and the Bishop of London that after one year of his service abroad Bettelheim would be given a Letter Dimissory by one of the Eastern Bishops.[29] For Bettelheim, the reason why he (originally hoping for the missionary work to the Jews abroad) chose Okinawa was summarized in "An Appeal": "One of the grounds which induced me to go to Loo-Choo (rather than to a missionary sphere offered me in Ireland), was to delight my soul in the results of Protestantism on a virgin soil."[30]

---

[28] Unpublished diary of Bettelheim in possession of Mrs. Hampton. Entry of Oct. 20, 1846. Cited hereafter as Diary of Bettelheim.

[29] LNM, ed., The Report of the Loochoo Mission, 1846, p. 1.

[30] LNM, ed., An Appeal for the Loo-Choo Naval Mission, 1849, p. 8.

During the hasty two month preparation for his journey, Bettelheim was enthusiastically collecting all the articles deemed necessary for the unknown land, Okinawa. A report of the LNM listed the following articles: surgical instruments, medicine, encyclopedia, books, perfumery for king of Loochoo, &c. for the dear Loo-Chooans.[31] These were a part of his preparation,for a Ryukyuan document reveals his elaborate preparation of presents for the islanders: a large clock, coins, wine, perfume, tobacco, sword, secular and religious books, gloves, wallets, pens, sewing requisites, lantern, etc.[32]

In September, 1845, the Bettelheims -- the couple and their eighteen-month old girl -- and Miss James, the tutor for the child, left Portsmouth on the William Jardan. Clifford had already written new instructions for the missionary on September 1, 1845. They read:

> On your arrival at Hongkong the Committee think it desirable, in consequence of the correspondence with the Rev. Charles Gutzlaff, Missionary in

---

[31] LNM, ed., The Report of the Loochoo Mission, 1846, p. 1.

[32] Ishin Shiryō Hensan-jimukyoku, ed., Dai Nihon Ishin Shiryō /Materials of the Meiji Restoration of Great Japan/, sec. I, v. I, pp. 379-84. Cited hereafter as Ishin Shiryō.

> China, at present employed as Interpreter to the Government, that you should avail yourself of his great local knowledge and long experience . . . , and carry out such suggestions as may be proposed by him for the furtherance of the mission . . . . that you will, if permitted to land, be immediately brought before the king [of Ryukyu] . . . . The Committee have great confidence in your prudence and talent, that you will blend 'the harmlessness of the Dove with the wisdom of the Serpent.'[33]

The last phrase, as we shall see later became Bettelheim's favorite motto for dealing with difficulties on Okinawa. It continues:

> Should you be permitted to take up your abode among the friendly Loochooans, the Committee will not attempt to dictate your mode of operation, as to securing the esteem of the people and the authorities; but they would enjoin on you the necessity of keeping close to the Articles, Homilies, and Liturgy of the Church of England in their grammatical sense in all your religious instruction . . . .[34]

Because of its being the first enterprise for the society and a great distance from the home society, Bettelheim was trusted to depend largely upon his own discretion on the island. Then the Committee, as seen below, saw the complicated relations of Ryuku with China and Japan would create a difficulty for Bettelheim's entry, they still could not comprehend the exact nature of the relations. They read:

---

[33] LNM, ed., Copy of the Instruction Given for the Guidance of Dr. Bettelheim, by the Committee of the LNM, Sept. 1, 1845, pp. 1-2.

[34] Ibid., p. 2.

> The greatest difficulty which the Committee at present can see, arises from the circumstances of Loochoo being tributary both to China and Japan, and although the Emperor of China has withdrawn his decree against Christian teaching, it must be remembered that Loochoo is not one of the free ports open to British commerce; and should there be no opposition on the part of China, the watchful jealousy of Japan will have to be encountered.[35]

On their way to Orient, a son was born on board in November, 1845. He was named Bernard James Gutzlaff after the famous missionary Gützlaff mentioned in the above instruction. After the four-month voyage, they arrived at Hongkong on January 22, 1846. On the coast of China, they had to wait for the passage to Okinawa until April 14. It was largely due to scarcity of ships to the island and the unfavorable season for sailing ships. Bettelheim, however, did not waste his stay in China; he studied Chinese more intensely[36] and made many missionary friends there in order to get useful information.

Bettelheim met there Gützlaff; Walter H.

---

[35] Ibid., p. 3.

[36] The Claims of Loo Choo, sec. entitled "To the Subscribers and Friends of the Loochoo Mission," May 8, 1846, p. 1.

Medhurst, the British missionary and translator; Peter Parker, American medical missionary; and Elijah C. Bridgman, American missionary and translator. Parker and Bettelheim as medical missionaries became close friends. In March, Bettelheim visited Parker at Canton and received information about Okinawa, for Parker had been there on board the Morrison in 1837.[37] Here Bettelheim also tried the acquire vaccine from Parker, who once demonstrated the mode of small pox vaccination on the island.

Bettelheim's first letter from Hongkong pleased Clifford very much. It was full of optimism about his future, though he seemed not to have acquired very accurate information about the island. He states:

> . . . on the best authority I am able to inform them [the Committee of the LNM] that there is not the slightest apprehension of any opposition, on the part of the natives, to my settling at Loochoo. Only as little back as six months ago, Europeans were surveying the islands, and were most kindly received by the natives . . . . They begged them to remain with them, and felt disappointed at the departure of their visitors. No less gratifying than this news will be that of the Loochooans now paying tribut to China alone, and being entirely freed

---

[37] See Peter Parker, Journal of an Expedition from Singapore to Japan with a Visit to Loochoo, etc., London, 1838, pp. 5-17.

> from the galling yoke of the Japanese. Thus, then, the Lord has already cleared away, if not all, at least some of the obstacles which we most dreaded. For China there is most perfect liberty granted by Edict to follow whatever religion the natives please . . . . Loochoo, then, under the sole supremacy of China, and free in itself, offers an open door to the joyful sound of the Gospel . . . .[38] (Italics original)

The second letter from him inserted his draft letter to be handed over to the Ryukyuan authorities at his arrival at the island. It reads as follows:

> Men and brethren, I come to you, not to carry on commerce or to acquire fame, but only to do you good, to the glory of God. I belong to the famous nation of the English and am a physician, surgeon and oculist. I have with me many medicines and surgical instruments. If you have sick folks . . . bring them to me . . . . I have brought with me the Holy Scriptures . . . . In those books you will find your duties . . . . For the present I have these books only in the Chinese, and part of it in the Japanese language, but I will endeavor with all deligence to learn your tongue, and hope . . . soon to be enable to translate them into it; thus to leave with you and your children an everlasting blessing. Finally, I will also acquaint you with my intention to institute a school among you, for which purpose I have also brought a teacher with me, that you might be taught European languages and sciences . . . .[39]

In this letter we see his ambition to establish a hospital, to preach the Gospel, to translate the Scriptures into the native tongue, and to establish a school to teach European arts and science. All he planned created problems, as we shall see in the following chapters.

---

[38] The Claims of Loo Choo, sec. entitled "To the Subscribers . . . .," April 13, 1846, pp. 1-3.

[39] Ibid., sec. entitled "To the Subscribers . . . .," May 8, 1846, pp. 5-7.

Before Bettelheim, there seemed to be no obstacle to hinder his project. The most difficult problem in Hongkong -- how to get passage to Okinawa -- was settled by the generous offer by an American businessman, Henry Fessenlen of New York City. Since the island of Okinawa was off the regular course of merchant ships, one schooner, on her way to Formosa, demanded a most exorbitant sum (£ 1,000) for the passage. Bettelheim could not afford such an amount. Later, Fessenlen let his schooner touch at Okinawa off its course for five hundred pounds.[40]

Another problem was to hire a Chinese interpreter. He thought he found one, but just one day before his embarkation the Chinese declined to accompany him to Okinawa. Bettelheim expressed his disappointment but decided to do his best with the help of Clifford's Vocabulary of the Loo-Choo

---

[40] Ibid., sec. entitled "To the Subscribers . . . . ," March 19, 1846, pp. 2-3.

Language, which Clifford had compiled thirty years before. Bettelheim resolved: ". . . I feel inadequate without interpreter, but still my trust is in the Lord, [who] encouraged Moses to go on an errand to Pharaoh . . . ."[41] Then, the next day came: ". . . it was mere Providence that brought us a man just as we set foot on board the Starling; his knowledge of English was in perfect keeping with mine of Chinese . . . ."[42] The man was a Cantonese, called Liu Yu-kan. Thus, Bettelheim was ready to go the destination. On April 14, 1846, the Bettelheims, Miss James, and Liu started for Okinawa on board the Starling (Captain McCheyne).

---

[41] LNM, ed., The Report of the Loochoo Mission, 1847, p. 3.

[42] "Letter from B.J. Bettelheim," The Chinese Repository (Canton), v. XIX, Nos. I-II (Jan.-Feb., 1850), p. 21. Cited hereafter as "Letter from B.J. Bettelheim," The Chinese Repository.

CHAPTER TWO

THE "GOLDEN AGE" OF THE MISSION,

(May 1846- October 1847)

1. First Protestant Missionary to Okinawa

The fortnight on the sea was approaching its end. On the last day of April, the Starling entered Okinawan waters. Bettelheim recorded his first sight of the island:

> "The town is in sight!" -- I just hear the report -- how my heart beats! Is it zeal for God's glory that agitates me through my whole frame? Lord, forbid that any other than those of a devoted servant of the Cross occupy my heart.
>
> The aspect of the great Loo-Choo is truly picturesque: hills crowned with trees, fine verdant slopes down to the sea; and all on which the eye can rest is like the garden of the Lord.[1]

Truly, the island is beautiful. The narratives of contemporary European visitors expressed the same admiration of the scene of the island. Bettelheim's emotional high tide did not last long, unfortunately, faced with human problems there.

---

[1] Entry of April 30, 1846, Copied Diary of B.J. Bettelheim, in possession of the Church Missionary Society, London.

The appearance of a European ship caused a panic in the kingdom. Two years before, a French man-of-war, Alcmène, suddenly visited the island and forcibly left a Catholic father called Theodore A. Forcade and his Chinese interpreter Augustin Ko. They were brought there by the scheme of Rear Admiral Cécille who received orders to proceed to negotiate commerce and friendship with countries neighboring China. Meanwhile M. de Lagrené, the French envoy, was concluding a very favorable commercial treaty with China. Cécille chose the island as a stepping stone to open up communications with Japan. He thus dispatched the Alcmène under the command of Captain Fornier-Duplan to Okinawa in May, 1844. The French proposal of commerce and friendship made to the kingdom upon arrival was declined flatly by the latter. Father Forcade, of La Société des Missions Etrangères de Paris, was left, without the consent of the kingdom, to learn the Japanese language for Cécille's future plan to negotiate with Japan.[2] Forcade and Ko had since been confined in a Buddhist temple called the Seigen-ji under strict surveillance for fear of possible propagation of Christianity.[3]

---

[2] Francisque Marnas, La "Religion de Jésus" (Iaso Jakyo) ressuscitée an Japon dans la seconde moitié du XIXe siècle, v. I, Paris, 1896, pp. 93-95.

Therefore, when Bettelheim asked the authorities for permission to settle for medical practice on the island, it was quite natural that the government was strongly opposed to his entry lest they would have trouble with another European. Bettelheim was also stubborn. Especially, after meeting the French, Bettelheim's patriotism for his newly naturalized country appeared. He reminisces:

> Conceived my joy and exultation, not only to meet a European, but to have a palpable proof that they may and do reside in Lewchew: this wall I wanted. I had English feeling enough not to allow that to be refused to the union-Jack, which was granted to the tri-colored cockade; and let me tell you, by the eye, the union-jack, at this time, was to me tantamount to the flag of Protestantism . . . .[4]

Forcade also realized that a competitor in religious enterprise arrived there. Bettelheim introduced himself as a physician sent by a philanthropic society in England to Ryukyu. Forcade however conjectured "the so-called doctor" was "a Protestant minister."[5]

---

[3] Augustin Theodore Forcade, "Mer Bleue: Archipel de Liou-Tchou," Revue de l'Orient (Paris), v. X, No. 10 (1846), p. 258. Cited hereafter as Forcade, "Mer Bleue."

[4] "Letter from B.J. Bettelheim," The Chinese Repository, pp. 19-20.

[5] Entry of April 30, 1846, Journal of Theodore A. Forcade, in possession of the Archive of the Missions Etrangères, Paris.

On May 1, the second day in the harbor, Bettelheim received a letter from the mayor of Naha, which rejected his entry to the island. Bettelheim thought his intention was not communicated well to the authorities due to his interpreter's Cantonese dialect, since the authorities spoke Mandarin. However Bettelheim tried to persuade them, the authorities persisted in refusing Bettelheim's landing. Under these circumstances, the captain thought it was not wise to let Bettelheim leave the ship. Miss James, the tutor for their children, refused to go ashore with the Bettelheims. Bettelheim's last resort to escape the impasse was to go ashore by himself. This was done secretly by hiring a native boat. When the captain and the authorities found what had happened, the Bettelheims and the Chinese were already on land.

The surprised officials reluctantly took them to a temple near the harbor. There, Bettelheim and the officials argued about his entry from noon to late afternoon. Neither yielded at all. The officials explained that his stay would be against the state law. Bettelheim insisted that he was sent by the

Lord whom he could not disobey.[6] While they were debating, night was coming on and Bettelheim's children were crying, probably because of hunger or of fright. The officials finally yielded to allow them to stay at the temple for the night only.[7]

The concession made by the officials might have been affected by another event of the day. Another European ship came to the island on the same day. It hoisted the tri-color. The French schooner Sabine brought another Catholic missionary M. LeTurdu.[8] The two ships, English and French, in two days were obviously too much to handle for the officials, though both met together quite accidently. The officials had to dispose of difficult problems concerning the arrival of the two nationals. The opposition to Bettelheim's entry was thus more or less softened by the newcomers. The first night on the island passed peacefully.

The next day, May 2, Bettelheim received the first official letter from a high-ranking official called *pu chêng ta fu*,[9] the treasurer of the kingdom. It explained the nuisance of the French residence and the miserable state of the country, petitioning Bettelheim's deportation from the island:

---

[6] Report of the State Council of the Ryukyu Kingdom to the Clan Government of Satsuma, May 9, 1846, Ishin Shiryō, sec. I, v. I, p. 302.

[7] Ibid., p. 304.

[8] Entry of May 1, 1846, Journal of Forcade.

> A duly prepared petition. Hiáng Yungpaú, the treasurer of the department of Chung shán in the kingdom of Lewchew, hereby earnestly begs you not to stop in these quarters in order to tranquilize this little region. If foreigners dwell here, truly it will not be convenient.
>
> . . . in this miserable region, the present year has been one of extraordinary dearth . . . . But, Sir, if you now persist in stopping here, the distress of rulers and people will become more aggravated, and the country surely will never be able to stand it. I humbly beg you to have consideration for this distressed, worn-out country . . . . Give up the design of stopping in this land; wait till wind and weather be favorable, then embark in the same ship, and sail back to your country.[10]

All events since Bettelheim's arrival were quite contrary to what he had expected. Where were the friendly islanders described in the various accounts by Hall, M'Leod, Broughton, Broun, etc.?

---

[9] The *pu chêng ta fu* together with the *tsung li kuan* or *tsung li ta ch'ên* (the first dignitary in the country) were both the camouflaged titles created temporarily to avoid the direct contact between the active State Councillors and Westerners. They were assigned to deal with unwelcome visitors.

[10] Letter from the *pu chêng kuan* to Bettelheim, May 2, 1846, the text and translation in *The Chinese Repository*, pp. 25-28.

Were they the same people or did Bettelheim arrive at a quite different place? This discrepancy between the previous accounts and what Bettelheim encountered needs more explanation.

The islanders were the same, but the situation was different from the previous occasions. One should notice the fact that these accounts were written by temporary visitors like castaways or surveyors. They touched at the Okinawan shores casually; all they got from the island were the supplies for ships, or they surveyed Okinawan waters. What the French in 1844, however, asked was to open communications, trade, and missionary work to France. These three demands were absolutely unacceptable for the authorities who were pledged to follow the seclusion policy through Satsuma. Though Forcade and Ko stayed forcibly in the temple, a number of guards were posted to watch them minutely day and night. So closely were they watched that the two men had to refrain even from blowing their noses, spitting or coughing without being checked by the guards.[11] This was aimed by the officials to cut off any direct communication between the natives and the men of the foreign religion. Therefore, whenever they went out, the guards preceded the foreigners in order to scatter people in their way.[12] Being unable to reach the people, Forcade admitted his unfruitful missionary effort on the island.[13]

---

[11] Forcade, "Mer Bleue," p. 258.

The authorities' objection to Bettelheim's stay should be considered in this context. They did not hesitate to supply the wants foreigners needed, but to open commerce, missionary work, or even foreign settlement on the island was something the authorities could not accept. The officials, after sending the letter, decided to wait for Bettelheim's answer until the next day. Later, they discovered it was a mistake.

The Bettelheims were able to stay a second night on land. His diary tells his resolution on the night:

> My wife and children slept safely by my side . . . . We had twice prayed in the name of Jesus Christ in the dear Loo-chooan capital . . . . We had asked pardon for the prudence we were obliged to use, speaking more of and backing our request by the prudence of England than on the right of servants of

---

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 259.

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 262.

> Jesus. Paul used often his "being a Roman" when the opportunity required it. Why should I not make use of our being Englishmen?[14]

The next day, May 3, when the authorities demanded his answer to the petition, Bettelheim replied: "As [I was] sent by the order of the Emperor [italics mine] of the home country, [I] will stay [on the island]."[15] He kept silence after this answer, while the officials tried to persuade him to leave the island. Meanwhile, the Starling sailed away at about two o'clock, leaving the Bettelheims on the island.[16] Thus, the authorities had no choice but to let the family live on the island.

It is hard to assess how effective his usage of a governmental title was on the Ryukyuan authorities. We should take into consideration the presence of the French ship at the time of Bettelheim's landing. Even among the English on board the Starling, the possibility of the French occupation of the island was speculated on after Captain McCheyne and his officers paid a visit to the Sabine.[17] Actually, the Ryukyuans did not dare to use physical force in order to make him leave from the island, so that the missionary was able to stay there as he wished.

---

[14] Entry of May 2, 1846, Copied Diary of B.J. Bettelheim.

[15] Report of the State Council to the Clan Government of Satsuma, May 9, 1846, Ishin Shiryō, sec. I, v. I, p. 359.

[16] Ibid.

After the Starling left the island, both Bettelheim and the authorities faced a new problem -- to find a residence. The temple they stayed at that time was not convenient for either party. It was located too closely to the port. For the authorities, Bettelheim would have to be removed from such a busy place in order to prevent him from contacting outsiders.[18] For Bettelheim, the temple was too small for his future plan. His preference was a house with at least eight rooms for his dispensary, study,bed rooms, etc. Another condition was its location, which should be in the center of the residential area of the natives for easy access to the people in medical care and missionary work.[19]

---

[17] Entry of May 3, 1846, Copied Diary of B.J. Bettelheim.

[18] Report of the State Council to the Clan Government of Satsuma, May 9, 1846, op. cit.

From May 3 to May 7, they checked several buildings in the city of Naha. Finally, they found an annex to the temple called Gokoku-ji [The Temple to protect the nation] near the residential area. On May 7, the family and the Chinese moved into the building, where they were to stay for more than eight years. Within the building, there were several Buddhist statues which Bettelheim as a Christian wished to remove. The authorities, however, were unwilling to accept his proposal, because the temple was dedicated to protect the whole nation and any change in the temple was undesirable for the natives. The only solution was to hang a screen between the statues and the missionary's rooms.[20] It must have been curious to see the priests of the two entirely different religions living in the same premises for more than eight years.

On the day the Bettelheims moved their belongings and furniture from the old residence to the

---

[19] Entry of May 4, 1846, Copied Diary of Bettelheim.

[20] Letter from the pu chêng kuan to Bettelheim, May 8, 1846, Lin Ch'i Chi, pp. 9-11 and Entry of May 8, 1846, Copied Diary of Bettelheim.

Gokoku-ji, about fifty natives helped them. The *zaiban bugyō* (Satsuma's resident commissioner) reported his belongings in detail to the Clan Government -- a mirror, a quilt, six chairs, a mosquito net, luggage for clothes, several leather boxes, one bed, two tables, twenty-four white boxes, an iron bathtub, two closets, two cases, two rattan matting boxes, one umbrella, and two dogs.[21] They were the first European family to settle on the island. So their stay itself attracted the natives' curiosity. Mrs. Bettelheim and their children seemed to be the focus of their attention. Buddhist monks of the temple visited the annex frequently to see the family.

Bettelheim himself attracted the attention of the islanders as well. His spectacles looked awkward to people who did not wear glasses as Europeans did. He also brought in two large European dogs, which were the first foreign dogs they ever saw. Bettelheim's spectacles and the dogs were symbols of his foreignness; the natives gave him a nickname called Nanmin-nu-ganchō [Bespectacled man of Nanmin[22]] or Inu-ganchō [Bespectacled doggy man], by which names, rather than his formal name, he was called and remembered by the common people. The officials called him Po-tê-ling [伯德令] or Po-t'ê-ling [伯特令], which he signed in his numerous correspondences with the government.

---

[21] Report of the *zaiban bugyō* to the Home Government, May 10, 1846, *Ishin Shiryō*, sec. I, v. I, pp. 362-63.

The family had no sooner settled at the temple than several guard posts were constructed by the government in front of the gate, later in the rear of the temple too. The family were put under constant surveillance like the French from the day of their landing to their leaving eight years later. At this stage, the authorities were anxious to know Bettelheim's intention in staying on the island with his family, though they were already told that he wanted to open a dispensary for the people.[23]

When they however found one Christian booklet included in his presents to the king and other officials, the zaiban bugyō reported to his home government that Bettelheim might be another missionary somewhat connected with the French missionaries.[24] His guess, though quite wrong, might be understandable when one considers the fact that within two days both the English family and the French missionary entered the country. Naturally, the zaiban bugyō conjectured about the possibility of an international conspiracy by the French and the English. The truth was far from his guess. The two European parties met on the island by chance. In addition, as soon as they saw each other, the competitive, rather than cooperative, spirit arose in their religious work.

---

[22] Nanmin is a bluff near the Gokoku-ji.

[23] Report of the zaiban bugyō to the home government, May 10, 1846, Ishin Shiryō, sec. I, v. I, pp. 362-63.

As mentioned above, Bettelheim bestirred his patriotic and religious feeling against Forcade at his first meeting.[25] Forcade also conjectured that the so-called doctor was a Protestant minister.[26] The zaiban bugyō, concurrently, observed that they were not so friendly as expected. He reported to the home government: ". . . when the Englishmen [H.M.S. Samaring under Captain Sir Edward Belcher in its surveying cruise] visited [here] last year, the French

---

[24] Ibid., pp. 377-78.

[25] See p.27.

[26] Ibid., p. 22.

[Forcade] frequently met [the English.] However, no such a thing is witnessed this time."[27]

At this time, the movements of the French were fast. On May 1, the *Sabine* anchored at the island, bringing a new missionary, LeTurdu. The *Sabine* was joined by two additional French men-of-war under Admiral Cécille on June 6. The three French warships, as we will discuss later, put pressure on the kingdom to secure communication, commerce, and missionary work from the island kingdom only to fail. This showdown of force by the French impressed Bettelheim deeply. Consequently, he tried to meet the admiral.

Forcade, however, was not willing to let Bettelheim do so. The purpose of Bettelheim's proposal was explained in LeTurdu's letter of July 4 to Forcade. As the only Englishman on the island Bettelheim, representing his country, wanted the Ryukyuans to acknowledge the friendship between France and England.[28] As a senior member, Forcade asked LeTurdu to prevent Bettelheim's contact with the admiral. Bettelheim, however, succeeded in meeting with the French admiral in September.[29] Though he sufficiently showed the natives that he was a citizen of a powerful European nation, his positiveness was not appreciated by the French.

---

[27] Report of the *zaiban bugyō* to the home government, May 10, 1846, *Ishin Shiryō*, sec. I, v.I, pp.362-63.

[28] Letter of LeTurdu, July 4, 1846, in the entry of July 6, 1846, Journal of Forcade.

In his journal Forcade had criticized Bettelheim's attitude as "indiscreet"[30] on one occasion and as "importunate"[31] on another. Bettelheim's letter to his friends in England reveals his rival feeling as well: "We shall have the antagonist church to contend with on the soil of Loochoo. Two French priests have been located at Napa [Naha] . . . ; but even for this contest the Lord is equal, and will bring his servants through unscathed."[32] The rival feeling is revealed amply in Bettelheim's and Forcade's journals, LeTurde's letters, and Ryukyuan documents. On this tiny island, both parties, Protestant and Catholic, commenced the age-old theological polemics as LeTurdu's letter of July 8 reads.[33]

---

[29] "Letter from B.J. Bettelheim," The Chinese Repository, p. 73.

[30] Entry of May 13, 1846, Journal of Forcade.

[31] Entry of May 18, 1846, *ibid*.

[32] LNM, ed., The Report of the Loochoo Mission, 1847, p. 5.

Thus, we can see the small-scale missionary rivalry between Protestants and Catholics on the island. In this contest the French had likely more advantage than Bettelheim. Since 1844, Admiral Cécille used his squadron for settling Catholic missionaries there. Under Cécille's scheme, Forcade was succeeded by LeTurdu and Mathieu Adnet who came to the island to join LeTurdu in June. On each occasion the French missionaries were aided by their own men-of-war.

Bettelheim, always having difficulties in dealing with the Ryukyuan government, wished to have such strong backing. Bettelheim, however, experienced only disillusion and dismay with the idea, when he happened to meet his own country's admiral later. Rear Admiral Sir Thomas Cochrane with his China Sea Squadron came to Okinawa waters in mid-October, 1846. Cochrane asked to be given an audience with the king of Ryukyu. He wanted to express his gratification for Ryukyuan's kind treatment shown to frequent visitors of Great Britain.[34] His request was cordially declined by the authorities. On the other hand, the authorities requested the admiral for Bettelheim's removal from the island. This time it was the admiral who refused the request, because he said he did not know Bettelheim.[35] Cochrane further enumerated other reasons for his refusal: (1) Bettelheim came there privately and was doing a good thing, providing medical service, for the people;[36] (2) because of the French settlement there, Bettelheim had the same right to do so;[37] and (3) Bettelheim was not a British subject anyway.[38] These bases for the admiral's refusal to remove Bettelheim were a great shock to the missionary.

---

[33] LeTurdu's letter to Forcade in the entry of July 10, 1846, Journal of Forcade.

---

[34] Letter from Rear Admiral Cochrane to the Ryukyuan Government, Oct. 13, 1846, Lin Ch'i Chi, p. 5.

[35] Report from Shimabukuro pēchin to Kadena pēchin, Oct. 17, 1846, Ishin Shiryō, sec. I, v. II, p. 597. The pēchin indicated a relatively higher social status in the kingdom. It ranked below the highest social statuses, such as ōji, aji, and oyakata, and above the lower ones, such as satonushi-pēchin, chikudon-pēchin, satonushi, etc.

[36] Ibid.

[37] Ibid.

[38] "Journal of Occurances," The Chinese Repository, v. XVI, No. 1 (Jan., 1847), p. 56.

The furious missionary sent his complaint to his friends in China, i.e., the Reverends Dr. Bridgman, Stanton, and Smith. His letter to the Rev. Dr. Bridgman states: ". . . he [Cochrane] is a perfect liar, since I was introduced to him in Hongkong by Colonel Chesney and had a rather lengthy chat with him . . . . He is also a liar when saying I was no englishman [sic.], after having been naturalized by special Act of Parliament."[39]

The lack of materials on Cochrane's side presents a difficult problem. What did the Admiral really contemplate at that time? Was he really a liar as Bettelheim thought? Or were these reasons elaborated by the admiral to refuse the authorities' request of Bettelheim's removal? The latter ground is more feasible than the liar-theory, but it is proper to leave the problem for further study at the present stage.

Cochrane's statement caused more confusion among the authorities than ever. They secretly interrogated a Chinese interpreter on board the squadron. The reply was that though Mrs. Bettelheim was British, the missionary was a "Yeh-ma-ni" [Germany?] countryman.[40] Bettelheim's complicated background caused confusion as to his nationality. Meanwhile, the zaiban bugyō concluded that the doctor was none other than the British, and that Cochrane's assertion was a mere pretext to refuse the removal of Bettelheim.[41]

---

[39] Bettelheim to Bridgman, Oct. 20, 1846, in the entry of Oct. 20, 1846, Diary of Bettelheim.

To Bettelheim the effects of Cochrane's assertion were disastrous: the destruction of "the many lessons of humility they [the Ryukyuans] had obtained from Admiral Cecil [sic.] and the missionaries here . . . ."[42] He feared that Cochrane's presence "was calculated more to injure than strengthen the interest of our infant Mission, then struggling against so many disadvantages . . . ."[43] Thus, the first Protestant missionary to Okinawa, by contrast with the strong governmental backing of the French missionaries in the same place, had to struggle with various difficulties in his missionary work without any strong governmental backing.

---

[40] Report of Shimabukuro pēchin to Kadena pēchin, op. cit., p. 598.

[41] Report of the zaiban bugyō to the home government, Oct. 22, 1846, Ishin Shiryō, sec. I, v. II, pp. 623-24.

[42] Entry of Oct. 17, 1846, Diary of Bettelheim.

[43] LNM, ed. The Report of the Loochoo Mission, p. 4.

2. Edo-Kagoshima-Shuri Relations

The arrival of the English and French missionaries were immediately reported to the clan government of Satsuma at Kagoshima[44] by both the zaiban bugyō and the kingdom. The zaiban bugyō reported his suspicion about Bettelheim's intention, stating:

> Though he [Bettelheim] expressed his desire to stay here for medical practice, actually it is thinkable that there might be an Anglo-Franco conspiracy. On the other hand, as it is seen now, it is possible to presume that England changed its scheme ably and sent the doctor. At any rate, it is hard to ascertain the truth.[45]

The State Council of the kingdom reported the inevitability of letting Bettelheim settle on the island and its future policy forward:

> Upon the foreign ship's arrival here, [we], on consulting with the zaiban bugyō Hirata Zendaifu, esq. for various matters, had managed in accordance with the previously issued provisions (the shogunate decrees.) Though the ship [the Starling] set sail, without listening to our refusal on his stay as mentioned before, the foreigners [the Bettelheims] and the Chinese remained here

---

[44] Kagoshima was the capital city of the Satsuma Clan.

[45] Report of the zaiban bugyō to the home government, May 10, 1846, Ishin Shiryō, sec. I, v. I, p. 366.

> together to our surprise. In any case, if the public ship of his country happens to come [here], [we] will notify [them] that the case of foreigner' residence is against the state law. If they are willing to take [the family], [we] will report to [your government] again.[46]

From the two reports, we know how the kingdom was ruled under the supervision and guidance of the zaiban bugyō. The commissioner was always consulted by the Ryukyan authorities minutely about how to deal with foreign visitors. The Ryukyuans henceforth endeavored to request visiting foreign ships to take the Bettelheims from the island, as we shall discuss later.

At Kagoshima, the matter was chiefly handled by Shimazu Nariakira, the heir to the Satsuma Clan. He was one of the most progressive leaders in the late Tokugawa period. Having collected information about the outside world, this intellectual leader had long since realized the anachronism of the "seclusion policy" of the Edo Government.[47] When he first heard the French proposal of communication, trade, and missionary work to the kingdom in 1844, Nariakira recommended to Edo the opening of the Ryukyus as a diplomatic window to the West in order to forestall direct foreign invasion to Japan proper.

---

[46] Report of the State Council to the Satsuma Clan, May 9, 1846, Ishin Shiryō, sec. I, v. I, p. 360.

[47] Edo, present day Tokyo, was the site of the Bakufu (the term for the government of Japan under the rule of a Shogun.)

The State Councillor Abe Masahiro of the Shogunal government consulted with other high officials about Nariakira's recommendation. While they were delaying the decision because of its grave importance to fundamental national policy, the Alcmène left the island.[48] The second visit of the French squadron and Bettelheim's settlement two years later convinced Nariakira that the proper time had come to materialize his previous idea.

Nariakira was already acquainted with many influential leaders of the period, such as Abe Masahiro, the State Councillor of the Bakufu; Tokugawa Nariaki, the Lord of the Mito Clan (one of the three branch families of the Tokugawa house); and Matsudaira Yoshinaga, the progressive Lord of the Iyo Clan. In due time the events in the kingdom were reported to the Bakufu. At the same time, Nariakira contacted these influential leaders for the support of his scheme to open the kingdom to the West.

---

[48] Ishin Shiryō Hensankai, ed., Ishin Shi ⁄[History of the Restoration], v. I, Tokyo, 1942, p. 429.

On July 17, 1846, Nariakira sent a personal letter to Tokugawa Nariaki, the Lord of Mito and father of the last shogun, Yoshinobu. Nariakira made it clear that the defense of the Ryukyus was insufficient because of the disarmed islanders and of the small garrison force of Satsuma there. In addition, the number of cannons were not sufficient and the kingdom was too far away to defend effectively. Under these circumstances, if the kingdom refused the French proposals, Nariakira feared the possible occupation of the Ryukyus by the French. He therefore recommended the opening of commerce between the French and the kingdom at the Fukien trading depot of the kingdom in China or at some islands of the kingdom other than Okinawa Island where the capital was located.

On the other hand, Nariakira recommended that their proposal on communication and missionary work should be absolutely refused. Tokugawa Nariaki was a well-known, staunch advocate of the "seclusion policy," so that both men, though being close friends, exchanged letters expressing opposite views on this fundamental policy of the nation. Nariakira emphasized that the mere repulsion of foreigners from the Ryukyus was impossible,[49] hence the inevitability of the "opening" of the kingdom to Western trade.

On July 18, 1846, Satsuma's Clan Councillor, Zusho, visited State Councillor of the Bakufu Abe at the latter's private mansion. Zusho reported the situation of the Ryukyus in detail, urging Abe to give special consideration to the partial change of the seclusion policy concerning the kingdom. The reason was fully presented as follows:

> Satsuma-Ryukyu trade has been already known not only to China but also to England, France and other countries. Consequently, if the kingdom utterly refused the French proposals on the basis of the national prohibition, they will manage to acquire the permission of trade with the Ryukyus from the Celestial Empire and behave as they want. In such a case, Japan could not acquiesce to the development without a confrontation with Westerners. Whatever aftermath results, it is feared the grave matter would be commenced in the Ryukyus and eventually become the calamity of Japan herself. Therefore, as the Ryukyus is an outer fief, trade should be opened only at the Ryukyus in order to prevent Westerners from their access to Japan proper.[50]

---

[49] Shimazu Nariakira Monjo Kankōkai, comp., Shimazu Nariakira Monjo ⁄Documents relating to Shimazu Nariakira⁄, v. I, Tokyo, 1959, pp. 35-36.

[50] Memo of the Oral Statement by the Satsuma Clan's Envoy, May 18, 1846, and the Oral Statement by the same envoy, the same date, Ishin Shiryō, sec. I, v. I., pp. 756-59.

The Zusho mission to Abe was successful. Zusho was sent next to the former Bakufu's Commissioner to Nagasaki (the port town opened for Bakufu's monopoly of foreign trade only with the Dutch and the Chinese under the seclusion policy), Abe's right-hand man called Tsutsui, on the following day. Nariakira himself met Tsutsui on a different occasion and reached complete agreement with the latter. The agreement was as follows:

> Originally, Ryukyu has been in the state of belonging to both Japan and China; nominally to China, but substantially to Japan. Therefore, it would be hard to decide peace and war from the viewpoint of Japan alone. If the foreign barbarians request Ryukyu communication and trade with them after having had consent from China, the King of Ryukyu would not be able to decline. In these circumstances, it would be quite possible that there would arise a tension between two countries, which is considered not a good policy. Therefore, it would be the best policy for future Japan that the matter of Ryukyu be regarded as outside of Japan, and the case of communication and trade be admitted tacitly to the King of Ryukyu alone. Nevertheless, *the foreign religion /Christianity/ will become a source of national evil, if it is admitted all at once. Therefore, it shall be strictly repulsed.*[51] (Italics mine.)

---

[51] Hamano Shōkichi, ed., *Kaikyū Kiji* /Account of the Reminiscence on Abe Isenokami/, Tokyo, 1899, pp. 152-53, cited in Tabohashi Tsuyoshi, *Zōtei Kindai Nihon Gaikoku Kankei Shi* /History of Foreign Relations of Modern Japan, Enlarged Ed./, Tokyo, 1943, p. 394.

On July 20, the final decision of Abe was based upon the agreement which stipulated the return of Nariakira to Kagoshima as deputy of the Lord of Satsuma in order to dispose of the Ryukyuan problem accordingly.[52] Three days later, the Lord of Satsuma and his heir (Nariakira) were given an audience of the Shogun Iyeyoshi, who gave Nariakira a brief and general official instruction, entrusting him with Ryukyuan affairs.[53] The detailed policy was later transmitted by Abe personally to Nariakira at Abe's mansion on July 27. Abe instructed:

> Since Ryukyuan affairs were entrusted to Shūri Taifu [Nariakira] by the Shogunate who approved his [Nariakira's] opinion, you must manage it at your will as the occasion may demand, without destroying the national polity, and so as to remove the source of evils. *Since Ryukyu from the first has been the outer fief and [the Bakufu] does not dare to interfere in it, there is no need to ask for the Bakufu's instruction in everything. [You] may act on your own authority.*[54] (Italics mine.)

Abe further instructed that if the French threatened the Ryukyus by force in order to open trade,

---

[52] *Ibid.*

[53] Shimazu Nariakira Monjo Kankōkai, *op. cit.*, v. I, p. 38.

[54] Hamano Shōkichi, *op. cit.*, pp. 73-125, cited in Tabohashi Tsuyoshi, *op. cit.*, pp. 394-95.

Satsuma could allow the trade only with the French in a small scale to the Ryukyus. Though the trade with the French was permitted in Ryukyu in case of emergency, this was a drastic change of the age-old national policy of the *Bakufu*. Satsuma records reveal that the decision was kept in absolute secrecy,[55] because even among the top officials of the *Bakufu* the assent for the change could not be obtained.

The opening of Japan to the West was scheduled preliminarily in the Ryukyus eight years before Commodore Perry's opening of Japan. However, we should notice the fact that the decision made in July, 1846, in Edo did not include the problem of missionary work in the Ryukyus. As discussed in the above, the foreign religion [Christianity] was regarded as the source of evil, and no consideration was given to the relaxing of the existing prohibitory law against it.

Upon his return to Kagoshima, Nariakira prepared for the future opening of the Ryukyus to England and France, by taking care of negotiations between the

---

[55] Akao Tōichi, "Futsukoku no Ryukyu Kaikō Yōkyū to Yedo Bakufu no Taisaku," [The French Demand on the Opening of the Ryukyus and the Yedo *Bakufu*'s Countermove], *Shirin* (Kyoto), v. XXV, No. 3 (Aug.,1940), p. 80.

Ryukyus and the two countries, studying the Ryukyuan trade situation at Fukien, and drawing the maps of the Ryukyus.[56]

On August 17, Nariakira sent a dispatch to Shuri (the capital of the kingdom of Ryukyu), instructing that communication and trade with the French were permitted in an unavoidable case, but missionary work for Westerners should be strictly forbidden.[57] Upon seeing Bettelheim and the French missionaries remain on Okinawa, the Clan Councillor Zusho instructed the same policy to the Ryukyuan representative at Kagoshima in May, 1847.[58] The fundamental policy of Satsuma in response to the new situation in the Ryukyus since 1844 and 1846 was set up and did not change basically while Bettelheim resided in Okinawa; legally no allowance was given Bettelheim's missionary work there.

The anti-Christian policy in the Ryukyus was newly confirmed in Edo, and transmitted to Shuri through Kagoshima. The difficulty Bettelheim confronted in the Ryukyus was most formidable to overcome. This long-established anti-Christian policy was not abolished at the time of the Japanese American treaty of 1854 nor even after the Meiji Restoration of 1868. It was the year 1873 when the prohibitive policy was finally eased. Furthermore, it should be remembered that freedom of religion was legally guaranteed as late as 1889 by the Meiji Constitution. Under these circumstances, Bettelheim and other missionaries had to struggle for the Gospel against the authorities in Shuri, Kagoshima, and eventually Edo.

---

[56] Inobe Shigeo, Shintei Ishin Zenshi no Kenkyu, [Study of the Preceding History of the Restoration, New Ed.], Tokyo, 1942, p. 480.

[57] Ishin Shiryō Hensankai, ed., op. cit., p. 432.

[58] Correspondence from Kawakami Jūrobe and Kin Oyakata to Uraso Ōji and others, May 3, 1847, Ishin Shiryō, sec. I, v. IV, pp. 549-52.

Upon receiving the instructions from Satsuma, the Ryukyuan authorities followed them faithfully and kept in touch with the zaiban bugyō. By the end of the year 1846, not only the French but also Bettelheim were confirmed as missionaries by the authorities. The Shuri government thus gradually strengthened its surveillance over the preachers of the foreign religion. The surveillance system had its precedents since the time of Father Forcade in 1844-1846 as discussed briefly before. Almost the same system was applied and even enlarged to the Bettelheims from the beginning to the end of their stay on the island.

Several guardhuts near the temple, where the Bettelheims stayed for several days, were built on the very day of Bettelheim's landing on Okinawa.[59] Bettelheim's transfer to the Gokoku-ji was done with the approval of the _zaiban bugyō_. There too several guardhouses were constructed hastily around the temple.[60] On the same day one report confirmed their surveillance as follows: "As to the watching problem, [we] will manage effectively in the light of the vigil over the French hitherto, while consulting with the _zaiban bugyō_."[61] Besides the guards, several interpreters were assigned to the temple daily. They were liaison officials between Bettelheim and the authorities. These guards and interpreters followed Bettelheim whenever he went out of the temple. As we shall discuss later, it was one of the official's acts which Bettelheim cursed. A few cooks were sent to the temple by the authorities without the consent of the Bettelheims. Shortly after his move to the temple, Bettelheim asked Shuri to permit him to hire a few maids for babysitting and laundry. His request was declined first by the interpreter and then by other local officials.[62]

---

[59] Report of the State Council of the kingdom to the Clan Council of Satsuma, May 10, 1846, _Ishin Shiryō_, sec. I, v. I, p. 359.

[60] _Ibid_.,

[61] Letter from Izena _pēchin_ to Shimabukuro _pēchin_, May 7, 1846, _ibid_., p. 371.

Bettelheim explained his difficult situation, stating that Mrs. Bettelheim and the daughter were sick and Bettelheim himself suffered from insomnia for the past nine days.[63] Moreover, Bettelheim planned to invite the treasurer (the pu chêng ta fu), local officials, and others, so that maids were needed for cleaning the house and serving them. The reply from the authorities was still negative. It was explained to Bettelheim that the employment of Ryukyuan women by foreigners was prohibited by the state law, and that even though foreigners could pay high wages, no women would dare to be hired.[64]

There was a long tradition that despite friendly treatment shown to foreigners, the islanders strictly forbade the Ryukyuan women to be present before foreigners from a special consideration. Ryukyuan documents show that the transient foreigners seized the feeble native women and children as hostages and took them away on some occasions in the seventeenth century.[65] Therefore, it was quite natural that the islanders tried to hide their women and children from foreign visitors as much as possible. The various accounts on Ryukyu, for example, from Captain Hall's and M'Leod's down to the Perry expedition, described how rarely they had chances to observe the native women during their stay on the islands. Though the official refusal to Bettelheim's request was not a special case at all, the reply left a bad impression on Bettelheim's mind. The unwelcome family had to start their life on the island without having much freedom even in their own household management.

---

[62] Report of the zaiban bugyō to the home government, May 26, 1846, ibid., p. 372.

[63] Letter of Bettelheim to the tsung li ta fu /the disguised title of the first dignitary of the kingdom/, n.d., Lin Ch'i Chi, pp. 13-17.

[64] Report of the zaiban bugyō to the home government, May 26, 1846, Ishin Shiryō, sec. I, v. I, p. 372.

After Shuri received the new instructions of Satsuma in August, the surveillance over the English and the French was more strictly observed. The LNM report states: ". . . the usual suspicion against a foreigner, and especially of one coming to reside amongst them, had been excited in the government authorities, and consequently a watch was kept on the Doctor's movements, which were under strict surveillance . . . ."[66] Admiral Cochrane's visit greatly increased Shuri's suspicion of the British design on Okinawa. The increasingly alarmed officials strengthened their vigil.

---

[65] See Higa Shunchō, Okinawa no Rekishi [History of Okinawa], Naha, 1959, pp. 196-97.

The French missionaries, though being watched equally with the Bettelheims, protested first. The Frenchmen requested that hereafter no interpreters be assigned to attend them, that the people be ordered not to shut their doors and gates whenever the foreigners approached, and that the price of daily necessities be charged them the same as the market price.[67] These were the same sorts of complaints repeated soon by Bettelheim as we shall discuss later.

To this complaint, the zaiban bugyō instructed Shuri to control the foreigners even more cautiously. The instructions were: (1) the gates and doors of the people's houses be kept open a little so that whenever the foreigners approached these could be closed in a quiet way at the sign given by guards, (2) the attendant interpreters follow the foreigners as before, but do so at intervals of three or four ken (approximately eighteen or twenty-four feet) so that the foreigners might not notice themselves being followed, (3) in order to avoid direct business transaction between the foreigners and the native salesmen, all sorts of currency be strictly concealed from the foreigners.[68]

---

[66] LNM, ed., The Report of the Loochoo Mission, 1847, p. 4.

[67] Report of the zaiban bugyō to the home government, Nov. 7, 1846, Ishin Shiryō, sec. I, v. II, p. 803.

After these instructions, the daily living on the island as well as missionary work became severer than ever. The authorities did not dare use physical force to expel the foreigners, but all the conditions were manipulated in such a way that becoming unendurable, the foreigners, the French first and the English next, were eventually obliged to leave the island. This was a very difficult task for the authorities, because the hasty action to compel the foreigners to leave the island might have invited a countermove of a more disastrous nature, possibly the attack and occupation of the capital or the whole island by the

---

[68] Entry of the ninth month of the twenty-sixth year of Tao-kuang (October 10-Nov. 18, 1846), Daybook of the State Council of the kingdom, Ishin Shiryō, sec. I, v. II, pp. 805-6.

French or English naval powers.

The kingdom was in such a defenseless situation that to handle the foreigners properly became the hardest task for the Shuri government. Bettelheim thus termed the first year of his settlement there as the "Golden age of the mission"[69] because he did not encounter the positive opposition or the use of force against him during the period.

3. Language study and propagation

To the missionary, it is a sine qua non to know the language of the place where he is assigned. In this respect, Bettelheim was well gifted in learning a new language. His linguistic capacity was so remarkable that before he learned Asian languages he had already mastered nearly a dozen languages; namely, Hebrew, Latin, Greek, German, French, Italian, Hungarian, English, Jewish-Spanish, Polish, Arabic, and Turkish.[70] At the age of thirteen he made a living as a language tutor. His learning of Chinese and

---

[69] "Letter from B.J. Bettelheim," The Chinese Repository, p. 38.

[70] Notes from the Private Journal (March 12-April 7, 1846), n.d., typewritten, Bull Collection, p. 4.

Ryukyuan seemed to start just after his appointment by the LNM. His textbook on the Ryukyuan tongue was the Vocabulary of Loo-Choo language collected by Clifford in 1816. Bettelheim studied it well, but later found it was not compiled correctly so that he had a hard time to correct what he learnt.[71]

During his stay in Hongkong, he earnestly studied Chinese. He reminisced:

> The study of the Chinese [language] was real vexation to me. It made me stupid and dull as often as I took to it. My lamented friend [Rev. Gützlaff] would absolutely persuade me to have to do nothing with the Chinese [language] . . . if not understood at all in Loo Choo . . . .[72]

Bettelheim was convinced that if he had not learned Chinese, he might not have gained "the high degree of efficiency or esteem" among the authorities who regarded knowing Chinese as a sign of scholarship.

The earlier study on Bettelheim done by the Rev. Henry B. Schwartz states: "He [Bettelheim] made such proficiency that when he landed in the islands [the Ryukyus] he could have expressed himself in Mandarin

---

[71] B.J. Bettelheim, *Nine Years in the Loo Choo Island, 1846-1854*, (MS), copied by Rev. Bull, Bull Collection, n.d., p. 111.

[72] *Ibid*., pp. 63-65.

Chinese or, if necessary, in Loo Chooan."[73] However, the documents, both Bettelheim's and Ryukyuan, reveal the difficulty of supporting this statement. Bettelheim's journal recorded what he had done before he met the authorities on April 30, stating that "I have caused my China-man [Liu] *to write down some short sentence*, what we may require."[74] (Italics mine.) Again, in another place Bettelheim stated the same occasion as follows: "He [Liu] was a Cantonese . . . and I believe, did himself scarcely understand half of what was told him.. . . and whenever my interpreter repeated to me their utter unwillingness to receive, or even let us land, I seemed persuaded he had not understood them . . . ."[75] A Ryukyuan document states about the same occasion: "The interpreters from Kume [a town settled by Chinese descendants] were dispatched to inquire their nationality, religion and reason to come here, but neither *the language* nor *the letter* was comprehensible."[76]

---

[73] *The Loo Choo Island: A Chapter in Missionary History*, c. 1907, p. 13.

[74] Entry of April 30, 1846, Copied Diary of B.J. Bettelheim.

[75] "Letter from B.J. Bettelheim," *op. cit.*, p. 21.

[76] Report of the State Council of the kingdom to the Clan Government of Satsuma, May 9, 1846, *Ishin Shiryō*, sec. I, v. I, p. 301.

(Italics mine.) The following day, Bettelheim secretly landed. Another Ryukyuan document states: "The official interpreter requested their return [to the Starling] because state law would not allow their stay. This instruction was transmitted verbally through the Chinese [to Bettelheim]."[77] It is therefore safe to say that though Bettelheim had studied Chinese and Ryukyuan before his arrival there, these were not sufficient enough for him to communicate his desires at the time of his arrival at Okinawa.

One, however, should not think that Bettelheim could not communicate with the natives. His mastering the new language seemed to be advancing rapidly. The zaiban bugyō thus reported as follows:

> The said Englishman possesses a lot of books, of which there are those written in various nations' characters, colloquial languages, and the kana [the Japanese syllabary]. At present he seems to study always the above books. However, he seems to understand the Chinese characters, Mandarin, and the language of this land generally. Besides, he can likely recite the kana.[78]

---

[77] Ibid., p. 302.

[78] Report of the zaiban bugyō to the home government, May 26, 1846, ibid., pp. 371-72.

The place where Bettelheim obtained such things written in Japanese seems to be Hongkong, where he met a certain Japanese called Rokumatsu [Rikimatsu] and received a fan written in Japanese.[79] The Japanese was one of the seven castaways who were to be returned to Japan on board the American ship, *Morrison*, in 1837. After its unsuccessful mission, the unhappy Japanese lived in China. Out of the seven, three of the Japanese worked under the Rev. Gützlaff, who became Chinese Secretary to the colonial government of Hongkong since 1843. The said Rikimatsu first lived in Shanghai,[80] but it is quite possible that he was visiting Hongkong when Bettelheim met the Rev. Gützlaff, who had been interpreter to the *Morrison* and was then preparing for the translation of the Gospel of John into Japanese with the aid of the Japanese.

Bettelheim was soon confronted with the problem of learning Ryukyuan and Japanese on the island. Since the days of Father Forcade's stay in 1844-1846, it was Shuri's policy to prevent by all means the foreigners from learning either the Japanese or

---

[79] Higaonna Kanjun, *Ryukyu no Rekishi* [History of Ryukyo], Tokyo, 1957, p. 130.

[80] Sagahara Ryōichi, *Tempo Hachinen Beisen Morisongō Torai no Kenyu* [Study of the Visit of the *Morrison* in the Eighth Year of Tempo (1837)], Tokyo, 1954, p. 163.

Ryukyuan tongues.[81] The second French missionaries, LeTurdu and Adnet, had the same trouble, but under the pressure of Cécille's fleet they were able to obtain the privilege of learning the language from the Ryukyuan officials. The problem, however, was not entirely settled for the French, because whenever they asked something related to religion of the officials, the latter did not respond on one pretext or another.[82] Bettelheim soon had to contend with this as well. For a while, he kept studying Chinese and Japanese. Since he hired Liu, the study of Chinese advanced more than that of Japanese. His conviction that Chinese was the international language among the intellectual and governmental circles around the Chinese Empire -- in Ryukyu, Korea, and Japan -- induced his emphasis on the study of Chinese first. His letter to the Chinese Repository dated October 17 showed his satisfaction about "considerable progress in language."[83] On the other hand, he never neglected

---

[81] Forcade, "Mer Bleue," p. 261.

[82] See Ishin Shiryō, sec. I, v. I, pp. 741-51.

[83] "Journal of Occurrances," The Chinese Respository, v. XV, No. 11 (Nov. 1846), p. 576.

Japanese at all as his diary reveals.[84] Up to this time, his learning Japanese was mostly self-taught.

Soon he had enough confidence to undertake preaching the Gospel to the public. His sermon before the people was first commenced on November 10, only five months after his arrival there. In regard to the date of his commencement of missionary work, Professor Yoshida in his excellent study on Bettelheim refutes this and claims that Bettelheim commenced preaching from about January 17, 1847.[85] His refutation is based upon a report from the State Council of the kingdom to the Clan Councillor of Satsuma dated November 22, 1848, stating: "Since the twelvth month of the year before last [Jan. 17 - Feb. 14, 1847] the Englishman [Bettelheim] has thrown [religious] tracts into the people's houses."[86] He regards the period as the beginning of Bettelheim's missionary work. The nine month period from Bettelheim's landing till that date is termed the missionary vacuum in his study. During this period, Bettelheim is described as devoting himself to medical service while learning the language.[87]

---

[84] Entry of Oct. 14, 1846 and after, Diary of Bettelheim.

[85] Yoshida Tsunekichi, "Ryukyu ni okeru Betteruhaimu no Dendō," [Missionary work of Bettelheim in Ryukyu], part I, Okinawa Rekishi Kenkyu (Naha), No. 2 (May 1966), p. 16. Professor Yoshida of Tokyo University wrote this study under a research grant for cultural science from the Ministry of Education, Japanese Government in 1951. The study was reprinted in the Okinawa Rekishi Kenkyu, a journal of the Society for Study of Okinawan History, Naha, Okinawa.

[86] Cited in ibid.

The present writer, however, thinks the commencing date should be earlier than that in this study. Bettelheim's letter to the Chinese Repository dated October 17, 1846, reports: ". . . [I] circulated some tracts."[88] Therefore, we can say that Bettelheim had already distributed some tracts among the people before October 17. The distribution of religious tracts thus was commenced at least three months earlier than Professor Yoshida's dating. Furthermore, Bettelheim had commenced his sermons to his servants some weeks before his first public preaching of November 10. Another letter of his to the Chinese Repository thus states:

> I had some weeks before this [one event on November 10, 1846] begun the public exercises of my missionary office with memorized sermons

---

[87] Ibid., p. 15.

[88] "Journal of Occurrances," The Chinese Repository,, v. XV, No. 11 (Nov.,1846), p. 76.

> . . . . Some prayers from Morrison's Chinese translation of the English liturgy had by this time been rendered into the Lewchewan /Ryukyuan/, and daily read over at family worship . . . being audibly followed by our servants, all native Lewchewans.[89] (Italics mine.)

From the content of the above letter, we know that he was curiously helped by the native interpreters in his translation for the text. Then, came the day of his first public sermon. We may cite this momentous day here at length:

> It was the first time I addressed the people publicly in walks. My heart throbbed bright and full of humble gratitude to the giver of every good gift, for having granted me power to speak to this people. Some of course ran away when I stopped to address them, but a large audience remained, avidly listening to what I said, and often nodding applause. I spoke three times till I felt dry in the throat, for I was obliged to exert my voice much to bring out loudly the strange sounds of this language.[90]

The fact that this first public sermon was no whim of the moment but a genuine commencement of Bettelheim's missionary work is verified by subsequent regular Lord's day and occasional sermons: namely, those of 16th (Monday), 22nd (Sunday), 25th (Wednesday), and 29th (Sunday) of November; 6th (Sunday), 13th (Sunday), 20th (Sunday), 23rd (Wednesday), and 27th (Sunday) of December, 1846; and 3rd (Sunday), 10th (Sunday), and 17th (Sunday) of January, 1847.[91] Therefore, up to January 17, 1847, Bettelheim had not only delivered his sermons thirteen times but also established himself as a regular preacher.

---

[89] "Letter from B.J. Bettelheim," ibid., p. 37.

[90] Entry of November 10, 1846, Diary of Bettelheim.

The problem in Professor Yoshida's study, though being excellent, is the fact that he did not have access to any materials on the side of Bettelheim in spite of his extensive use of those in Japanese. Thus, in his study, the period when Bettelheim's vigorous missionary work on the street started was set up on and after July 18, 1847.[92] His refutation again is based upon the report of the State Council to Satsuma dated July 23, 1847. It states as follows: "When the Englishman went out, it has been far from crying for worship of the Lord. However, on the 18th inst., it is reported that he, accompanied by his wife, went to Naha and Kume-mura, crying for the worship of the Lord at several places."[93]

---

[91] See each entry, ibid.

[92] Yoshida, op. cit., p. 16.

[93] Ishin Shiryō, sec. I, V. VI, p. 367.

The present writer thinks the use of such a document needs very careful treatment, because it was a report from the ruled to the ruler. Shuri could report a disgraceful affair such as the prohibited missionary work by understanding the fact, since Bettelheim's regular Sabbath and other occasional sermons had not been reported to Satsuma by this time. His study denies that before this time Bettelheim might have encouraged the people simply to worship the Lord, as his knowledge of the language was probably not sufficient enough to propagate the teaching of Christianity to an audience. We can presume that his Ryukyuan tongue was perhaps not so refined to express the complicated content of Christian teaching. But, we shall notice from his diary what he had done regularly even in those days of his stay. It amply reveals Bettelheim was trying something more than merely crying for the worship of the Lord to the people as Yoshida's study asserts. Take, for example, the case of Bettelheim's second sermon on November 16. As he wrote in his diary: "More than once I rung a smile from many a face when describing the nothingness [italics original] of their idols, pointing at two big clay men in the corner of the market."[94] From this statement, we can assert the audience could understand at least that Bettelheim ridiculed the worshiping of idols.

---

[94] Entry of November 16, 1846, Diary of Bettelheim.

The fourth preaching was occasioned when Bettelheim visited the French missionaries. Bettelheim, in contrast with his rapid progress in the new language, commented on his rivals' slow progress: "I was grieved to learn that the French had made but little advance."[95] Encouraged by his progress or perhaps incited by a competitive sentiment, the Englishman commenced a sermon in front of the Frenchmen when they met masses of people at a market in Tumai, where the French resided. He received a very good compliment for his sermon and mastery of the new language from the French.

His diary then tells us another example of his progress in mastering the native tongue and propagating the teaching of his religion:

> . . . I addressed another poor, ragged man, near the spot, and a labourer of salt . . . . The upper classes [of the island] are quite amazed on seeing such attention paid to the poor, and the poor are gladdened on learning that before God all men were alike, that he [*sic.*] loved all and gave them one common savior.[96]

---

[95] Entry of Nov. 25, 1846, *ibid.*

[96] Entry of Nov. 29, 1846, *ibid.*

From the above, we can judge that the audience showed their response to what Bettelheim spoke to them in their own language.

On his fifth attempt, Sunday, November 29, Bettelheim preached at several places. On this occasion, the Fourth Commandment was the main theme: " . . . I acquainted all [the audience at a market place] with the 4th commandment, and the God, who commanded to keep the Sabbath. The poor are quite pleased to hear that God had taken care they should not be used like animals, and has assigned a day of repose for them."[97]

The afternoon of the same day witnessed a wonderful gathering at another market place. Mrs. Bettelheim counted the attendance of several hundreds filling all four streets leading to the market.[98] Bettelheim daringly remonstrated them, saying that "The poor had as much of a soul as either I or they or any King in the world, and that he had a perfect right to listen to the way of salvation."[99] It invited a vivid discussion between the preacher and the audience: "They said the poor have to work and that all the people standing here obstructed the way for the carriers. The better, replied I. I have already told you to-day is the Sabbath, and God forbids any work to be done."[100] It is therefore safe to conclude that Bettelheim had already been engaging actively in missionary work long before Professor Yoshida's dating (on and after July 18, 1847).

---

[97] Entry of Nov. 29, 1846, Diary of Bettelheim.

[98] Ibid.

[99] Ibid.

Bettelheim's missionary work could not escape Shuri's interference, however. Christianity had been banned in the land for centuries and the new instruction of the same nature was handed over to Shuri by Satsuma as discussed above. Therefore, every occasion of Bettelheim's application for permission to propagate Christianity was turned down by Shuri. Bettelheim's first attempt to propagate Christianity legally was the presentation of a Christian tract with other presents to the king and the State Councillors on May 5, 1846. Seeing the prohibited tract, the authorities took it into their strict custody.[101] His presentation naturally increased the government's suspicion of Bettelheim, connecting him with the French missionaries. Bettelheim, however, acted cautiously.

---

[100] Ibid.

[101] Report of the zaiban bugyō to the home government, May 10, 1846, Ishin Shiryō sec. I, v. I, p. 377.

More than half a month later, the lesser officials were handed seven tracts entitled Ch'ao-ting Chun-hang Chêng-chiao Lu /Records Relating the Imperial Permission to Practice Catholicism/ which contained the concession China had granted French and other missionary work within the five treaty ports.[102] It must have been the first edict of December, 1844, in which the Empire gave consent to the erection of churches in the open ports and granted to Chinese permission to practice Roman Catholicism. Bettelheim sought the same privilege for Protestantism in Okinawa. Without giving any reply to Bettelheim, the authorities again took these into their strict custody.

Then, in November, Bettelheim received a dispatch from Shuri, being the official reply to his application submitted soon after his arrival. The application had the same content of the draft which he prepared in Hongkong.[103] In the application, he proposed to Shuri his offer of medical service and instruction in medicine, English, geography, and astronomy. To this, the government returned a flat refusal. With regard to medical service and medical education, they explained that the Ryukyuans usually went to China to learn the medical art and were then well skilled in healing and bestowing aid. They therefore refused his proposal, stating: ". . . there is no need of any one going to you to be examined and get medicine, or of studying medical books, and the art of compounding remedies."[104] As to studying English, they declined it on account of the two facts: (1) the government had already ordered some officials to study it, and (2) on the other hand, as the country was small and the people were stupid, "they can not be aroused sufficiently to receive instruction, and become qualified to conduct important matters."[105] His offer to instruct geography and astronomy was declined on the same ground as medicine. It thus concludes: "It is consequently impossible to allow you to do the above things."[106] Refused all his proposals, he resolved anew: "What then am I to do? The answer was plain, to be their missionary."[107]

---

[102] Report of the zaiban bugyō to the home government, May 29, 1846, ibid., pp. 384-85.

[103] See p.22.

---

[104] "Letter from B.J. Bettelheim," pp. 35-36.

[105] Ibid., p. 36.

[106] Ibid.

At present we are not sure whether he proposed to propagate Christianity because of the lack of materials. A Ryukyuan document reveals that Bettelheim proposed only "to cure patients, teach language, and to instruct astronomy and geography."[108] Nevertheless, concerning the reply to his proposal, Bettelheim declared:

> I proposed to be their [Ryukyuans'] missionary and nothing more; the only occupation they did not officially deny me [italics mine], and the only one indeed for which I had good reasons not to ask permission [italics mine], knowing, too, I had permission, commission, and express order, from the highest Power, to go to every nation and [to] disciple them in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost.[109]

From the above statement, we may presume he did not propose missionary work in the application.

The day, November 10, when Bettelheim received the reply was also the very day of his first public preaching. We can not find anything about the reply in the entry of the same day in his diary, though he of course entered the sermon in it. In the Lin Ch'i Chi, the compiled correspondence between Bettelheim and the authorities, there is an unsigned letter from Bettelheim. Since there is no date written on it, we can not decide whether it was the text of the first application or the later one of the same content. He proposed: Shuri announce and let the sick visit Bettelheim's dispensary for medical treatment; they dispatch some medical students to learn Western medicine; two youths be sent to study pharmacy; each government interpreter be instructed English; and the native sea masters be instructed geography and astronomy.[110]

---

[107] *Ibid.*, p. 37.

[108] Memorandum for the *fusei kan* to receive the English Admiral [Cochrane], the eighth month of the twenty-sixth year of Tao-kuang (Sept. 20 - Oct. 19, 1846), *Ishin Shiryō*, sec. I, v. II, pp. 609-10.

[109] "Letter from B.J. Bettelheim," *op. cit.*, p. 37.

Next to the above letter, the Lin Ch'i Chi contains the governmental reply, dated January 8, 1847, to Bettelheim.[111] Its content is exactly the same as one which he received on November 10, 1846. Bettelheim wrote another application, containing the same content as before, on January 16, 1847, and received the same kind of reply from Shuri on January 18.[112] From the above documents, we can assume that Bettelheim did not apply for permission of missionary work in his first application which he presented to Shuri just after his arrival. Having merely read the memorandum (p. 77, n. 108), Professor Yoshida assumed that Bettelheim did not apply to Shuri for permission to do missionary work for a while.

---

[110] Lin Ch'i Chi, pp. 24-26.

[111] Ibid., pp. 26-29.

The present writer also inclines to Professor Yoshida's view, but from different viewpoints. If Bettelheim proposed missionary work, the reply would definitely include some comment on it, which was more important to be banned than Western medicine, English, geography, and astronomy for the authorities. Did they just ignore or misread his proposal? Secondly, Bettelheim might have refrained from professing himself as a missionary when he saw Father Forcade on the first day on Okinawa. Bettelheim was not a formally ordained minister. Thus, Forcade's diary reveals that Bettelheim introduced himself as a medical doctor, though the French conjectured that he was a Protestant missionary.[113] Since Catholics had been doing missionary work two years ahead of Protestants, Bettelheim, in a competitive spirit, had concealed his project carefully to the French until he gained confidence as a missionary.

---

[112] Entries of Jan. 16 and 18, 1847, Diary of Bettelheim.

[113] See p.27.

By the beginning of July, he seems to have gained self-confidence when he observed what Catholics had done there. He thus proposed to engage amicably in theological polemics.[114] In mid-October he again criticized Catholics: "And yet the French missionaries had done nothing during 3 years."[115] His self-confidence in missionary work was complete when he preached in front of the French! On November 25, 1846, he was grieved to know the French had made little progress in learning the native tongue. Then, Bettelheim preached to the natives. "Our French friends," wrote he, "confessed this was very good work and spoke more flatteringly of my knowledge in the language than I deserved."[116] He remarked of the event: ". . . it will look strange that they [the French] are quite silent while I preach publicly."[117]

---

[114] See pp.40-41.

[115] Entry of Oct. 14, 1846, Diary of Bettelheim.

[116] Entry of Nov. 25, 1846, _ibid_.

[117] _Ibid_.

The above views, especially that of the Protestant-Catholic rivalry, have not been expounded well by the previous studies on Bettelheim. Since Bettelheim did not think it necessary to ask permission for propagating Christianity,[118] it was probably his restraint or strategy to the French which led him not reveal himself as missionary not only to the French but also to the Ryukyuans. The previous studies, including that of Professor Yoshida, assert that Bettelheim did not disclose his identity because of his consideration to the anti-Christian policy in Ryukyu.[119] But, it is questionable whether Bettelheim knew the complicated relations between Satsuma and Ryukyu, though he was previously instructed roughly to pay attention to Ryukyuan's dual relations with China and Japan by Clifford.[120]

On the other hand, his optimistic view on Satsuma-Ryukyu relation was expressed in his letter from Hongkong innocently denying "the galling yoke of the Japanese" over the kingdom.[121] Bettelheim therefore came to Okinawa with an erroneous view of Satsuma-Ryukyu relations. A question arises here -- whether Bettelheim was informed of the complicated relationship by Father Forcade on his arrival at the land. As far as both men's diaries are concerned, the present writer could not find any such evidence. It took a long time for Bettelheim to acquaint himself with the relationship, since both Satsuma and Ryukyu deliberately concealed the relations from foreigners, including the Chinese. The Satsuma representatives on Okinawa never made their appearance before foreigners. Therefore, when he judged the proper time had arrived, Bettelheim commenced his missionary work without asking permission of the privilege from the authorities.

---

[118] See p. 76.

[119] Yoshida, _op_. _cit_., p. 9.

[120] See p.20.

[121] See pp. 21-22.

Meanwhile, the objection to his missionary work did not come immediately from Shuri. His first four sermons in public (10th, 16th, 22nd, and 25th of November) did not meet any interference from the authorities. Bettelheim, however, observed someone was spying on the gathering on November 22.[122] The first interference occurred on November 27, at his fifth preaching. That was occasioned when several hundred persons listened to him. Then, he wrote: "Some mandarins drove away some people standing crouching near them as though it was not agreeable to them to be so near contact with their slaves."[123] Bettelheim strongly protested against the officials' action, but they responded mildly, stating that the people had to work even on Sunday and also the large meeting in the market would obstruct the business there.[124]

---

[122] Entry of Nov. 22, 1846, Diary of Bettelheim.

It is noticeable that the officials did not state his missionary work was banned there as far as the diary reveals. On the next Sunday, his congregation was disturbed by the officials. Then, the following three Sunday preachings were performed satisfactorily without the official interference. Behind the screen, however, Shuri was moving in the direction of controlling foreigners' activities. The first move in this direction was to prohibit the people from showing any books to foreigners who were acquainted with the colloquial style of Ryukyuan.[125] The next measure came a week later, forbidding the people to reply to any inquiry made by foreigners in the native tongue or the *kana*.[126] By order of the *zaiban bugyō*, both measures were carried into effect so that foreigners might not venture to master the native tongue for their missionary work. Especially, the last measure was taken by the panic-stricken authorities as a result of the remarkable degree of Bettelheim's mastery of the language. One day, when the missionary dropped in to a guard station in the countryside, he showed the guards his writing in the *kana*.

---

[123] Entry of Nov. 29, 1846, _ibid_.

[124] _Ibid_.

[125] Entry of Dec. 9, 1846, Daybook of the State Council, _Ishin Shiryō_, sec. I, v. I, pp. 808-9.

The first official prohibition, though a mild one, against his missionary work was handed to Bettelheim on December 18, more than one month after he commenced his preaching. The tone of the message was of an advisory nature. First, they asked Bettelheim "to desist from this practice . . . , *lest [he] should be injured by the populace* [italics mine]." Secondly, as would be repeated again and again, Shuri assured him that "there was no hope of introducing here another religion, as the people had no time to learn [it], and as [Bettelheim's] religion was only for the West; the Confucian way was for the East."[127] Shuri also advised him not to practice medicine.

---

[126] Entry of Dec. 17, 1846, *ibid.*, pp. 809-10.

To the messenger, Bettelheim replied angrily: ". . . people had here stomachs, and hearts and brains as well as we did in the west, they eat and sleep as we do, and have a soul as well as we do."[128] Bettelheim explained how he was popular among the common people. Then, he declared: ". . . I had not been sent either to learn from the Government what was right or wrong. We had God's book from which we learn our duties to all men, and it is this that I am charged to teach the people here and even the Government who are ignorant of the true God."[129] To the great surprise of the messenger from Shuri, Bettelheim dared say, "Therefore I choose to have to do only with the natives and nothing with Government."[130] This was a challenge from Bettelheim, but the countermove from Shuri was mild.

Of his last three preachings of the year 1846, only one disturbance is recorded. Shuri, considering the powerful naval strength behind the French and possibly the English missionaries, could not resort to direct physical force to halt the missionaries' activities. From the documents relating to the control of foreigners issued during this time, we can see how seriously Shuri regarded any mishandling of foreigners that might invite "a great calamity" or "a national disaster" to the kingdom.[131] Therefore, Shuri tried to isolate Bettelheim from the natives, to whom the authorities issued various orders and used violence to the same effect.

---

[127] Entry of Dec. 18, 1846, Diary of Bettelheim.

[128] Ibid. [129] Ibid. [130] Ibid.

It was not the people but the government at Shuri which was opposed to his missionary work. His letter to the LNM dated on January 2, 1847, explained:

> The only, but alas, at the same time unsurmountable obstacle, for the present at least, is Government, into the fold of Christ. The people. . . have now the fullest conviction that their Gods are not Gods: the eagerness with which the mass listens to the word, and hardly suppressed consent of many, and the nodded applause of some, plainly show the Lord is preparing a people here ready to come out as soon as the fear of Government is overcome.[132]

---

[131] Daybook of the State Council, Ishin Shiryō, sec. I, v. II, p. 807.

[132] The Claims of Loo Choo, sec. entitled, "Letter IX," March 20, 1848, pp. 2-3.

The first bold disturbance was witnessed on the day succeeding the above letter. On January 3, he had preachings at three different towns -- Shuri, Naha, and Tomari. In Shuri, the capital city of the kingdom, he encountered the officials' interference. The government emissaries, as Bettelheim described, "march up and down the market, and drive the people back as with magic, for they carry not even a bamboo in their hands."[133] The officials, however, soon equipped themselves with bamboo and sticks to scatter the audience.

Up to this time, Bettelheim's Sunday sermons increased the number of preachings at various places and extended the geographical coverage. At first he preached on the street, but soon found the market the most favorable place to deliver his sermon simply because many people usually gathered there. There were three principal towns on Okinawa: Shuri, the capital city, Naha (or Napha), the major port town; and Tomari (or Tumai), another port town near Naha. Bettelheim visited the markets in Naha and Tomari, and later extended to those in Shuri, several miles northeast of Naha where Bettelheim resided. He met the first avowed interference to his preaching at Shuri, the site of the Royal Palace and the government.

---

[133] Entry of Jan. 3, 1847, Diary of Bettelheim.

In those days, the missionary usually visited Shuri in the morning and went down to Tomari and then Naha in the afternoon. Sometimes he extended to the southern side of Naha port. At the lively town of Naha, various places were casually chosen wherever Bettelheim found a crowd. Besides these localities, he once took a trip to the middle part of the island, and preached there on Sunday, December 13. His eagerness for the mission led him to seize every opportunity to propagate the Gospel.

One day, he had a chance to meet some sailors from northern Okinawa called Yanbaru, who were regarded more backward culturally by the southerners, especially by inhabitants of Shuri and Naha. He appealed to the northern visitors: ". . . if you become worthy followers of Jesus Christ, it will be a title of honour to be called a Yambara [a man of Yanbaru] . . . ."[134] He continued: "They were much pleased when I told them, that in the case of their conversion I would with pleasure be called myself a

---

[134] Entry of May 28, 1847, Diary of Bettelheim.

'Yambara'."[135] However, he was obliged to admit to the sophisticated manner of the people of Shuri: "The Shuy [Shuri] audience was, as always, distinguished by the quantity and good behavior of the audience."[136]

During this time, his audience was in most cases the natives, but one day he had an opportunity to preach to outsiders, some Satsuma sailors. When two groups of Satsuma's men met him, they made a circle around the strange-looking Westerner. As his letter recorded:

> . . .I began to preach -- with one exception, no disturbance happened -- I could also observe, that the Japanese do not at all stand under the control of the local authorities. The Japanese listened very attentively, and I can now confidently say that they understand the Loochooan well, or rather that the Loochooan and Japanese languages are nearly one. Their faces and gestures, and often repetitions of what I said, showed perfectly that they attentively heard and understood.[137]

He preached to a different group of Satsuma's men later.

Here again arises the question whether these Satsuma men could understand him as Bettelheim stated, since the Satsuma and Ryukyuan dialects are not communicable to each other for the ordinary people. If the sailors frequently visited Naha, it is presumed that those men could eventually comprehend the Ryukyuan dialect, since both tongues belong to the same language group. Another possibility is that they simply watched the stranger's queer behavior in the awkward native tongue. Because of the lack of related materials, it is hard to verify Bettelheim's statement.

---

[135] Ibid.

[136] Entry of Jan. 31, 1847, ibid.

[137] The Claims of Loo Choo, sec. entitled "Letter XII," Nov. 20, 1849, pp. 28-29.

As time went on, his mastery of the native tongue and his acquaintance with the native customs progressed conspicuously. In the latter part of his first year of Okinawa, his missionary work showed more consideration of the native culture and received more response from the natives. Therefore, for example, up to the end of the year 1846, he had simply urged the people to observe the Sabbath. To this the native responded in different ways. The officials replied that the poor had to work even on the Sabbath day.[138] Later, Bettelheim learned more about the lamentable nature of feudalism in the kingdom: ". . . they would be obliged to starve if they only one day abstained from selling and working. Most people there live from hand to mouth."[139] It is of course erroneous to think that the native worked for three hundred sixty-five days a year for the rulers in those days. They had their own religion and customs which provided a number of days for relaxation and pastime.

---

[138] Entry of Nov. 29, 1846, Diary of Bettelheim.

Here, we must take a brief look at Okinawan religious life. In short, Ryukyu is a land where the native religion has persisted without major changes from antiquity to the present day. When the ancient people in the area made a settlement, it was important to choose the place to which a grove was attached. The grove called otake was regarded as a sacred place where their original ancestral deity came to earth and guarded their peaceful settlement and assured them of a rich harvest, a big catch, and safe voyage.

In the Ryukyus, the religious service was entrusted to the women. The priestess of a village transmitted their prayer concerning welfare and protection of the village life through the deity of the sacred hearth to the greater ancestral deity. In each individual house, the house wife guarded her own sacred hearth with the same devotion as the village priestess.

---

[139] Entry of Jan. 17, 1847, ibid.

Besides the sacred groves and hearth, there are many places of prayer, such as giant trees, huge rocks, wells, springs, or the residential sites of their first settlers.

In addition, they believed that one family, after seven generations, had its own male and female deities which of course would protect their descendants. This kind of ancestral deity stayed at their tombs as a residence. Therefore, the native frequently visits the tombs, praying for the welfare and protection of the family. This practice was the most lamentable for Bettelheim, and he exerted his utmost effort to break it off, to no avail. For the missionaries, it was the hardest task because of its strong influence on the native religion among the people.

The more sophisticated alien religions and philosophy such as Buddhism, Shintoism, Taoism, and Confucianism were never able completely to replace the religion indigenous to the Ryukyus, though leaving some influences on the latter. These alien beliefs and thought were in most cases supported by a small group of the people such as the elite and those of Chinese descent. The ordinary people had a firm belief in the native religion. Therefore, when Bettelheim admonished the observance of the Sabbath, it was quite a strange thing for them to accept and the teaching of the Fourth Commandment required infinite patience and explanation in detail.

One day he wondered about the method of his teaching: "It would sometimes be suggested to my mind, it was wrong to force upon the nation a Sabbath's rest even one half of an hour, as long as they will not keep it spontaneously."[140] The next moment, however, he rejected the suggestion as the devil's advice. Bettelheim sometimes tried a new method of propagation. As his diary records: "I employed to-day the method of catechising, but had to answer the questions myself, but say the method was new and attracted attention."[141] Such problems arose from his difficulty to secure a regular audience because of the official surveillance, so that he had always to preach to a new audience with whom Bettelheim could not review the previous teaching and proceed to the new.

In this point, those with whom Bettelheim could come into contact regularly were the government interpreters, guards, and cooks, Most of Bettelheim's conversations on religion and other topics were exchanged with those people throughout his stay on Okinawa. Among them, the interpreters showed more intellectual and critical motivation to discuss matters with the missionary. His first conversation on religion with the interpreters was satisfactorily done on November 20, 1846. Bettelheim did not write the content of the talk, but noted: "I see often serious faces, and have occasions for secret prayers and hope."[142] The next talk with them took place two months later. This time, they asked a crucial question: "The great stumbling block was Christ crucified. Had he been a good man, said they, how could he have been brought under legal punishment?"[143] Bettelheim taught the meaning of the Redemption fully by using various similes. The trinity also offered hard concept to understand for them: "Todzies [interpreters] objected to our faith the impossibility of God having a son, there being no mother in heaven."[144] Bettelheim was very pleased to hear the question, because it was a chance to teach the eternal sonship of Christ and also hoped they would eventually spread the teaching among fellow literati. Later, they asked about the peculiar nature of Christianity concerning the importance of the tie between man and God being more important than the family tie. To the Confucian-oriented officials, the family tie was the important ethic to be observed. The missionary replied: ". . . our religion points always to Heaven, from whence it came; yours is earthly and minds earthly things."[145] At another time, May 15, 1847, they found Confucius was born long before Christ and claimed the superiority of their Great Teacher to Christ. Bettelheim had to explain the long history of the Jews up to Christ's birth. Yet, they did not give in. The missionary concluded the discussion as follows: "Well, said I, according to your reasoning, all the slaves and women that were in China before Confucius are greater than your Master, because they appeared on earth before him."[146]

---

[140] Entry of Mar. 28, 1847, _ibid_.

[141] _The Claims of Loo Choo_, sec. entitled "Letter XII," Nov. 20, 1849, p. 20.

---

[142] Entry of Nov. 20, 1846, Diary of Bettelheim.

[143] Entry of Feb. 1, 1847, ibid.

[144] Entry of Feb. 23, 1847, ibid.

Although guards and servants were less educated,

---

[145] The Claims of Loo Choo, sec. entitled "Letter XII," p. 22.

[146] Ibid., pp. 23-24.

Bettelheim usually found them more interested in the foreign religion than the interpreters. As discussed before, the servants attended his family worship long before Bettelheim's first public sermon.[147] The servants were alternated every ten days on account of their possible conversion to Christianity. Therefore, the Bettelheims had to meet new faces every ten days. He, however, seemed to have succeeded in inviting them to their family worship. Thus, he could report to the LNM: "Commencing from November up to the end of last year [1846] we had our servants daily with us to prayers. I shall never forget the season of blessing when we prayed at the foot of the cross together with Loochooans in the Loochooan tongues."[148]

On New Year's day, 1847, he wrote: "We have some who already pray with us daily, our servants, none forbidding, come every day, often uncalled, to our family worship . . . ."[149] Bettelheim recorded that among the former servants there were some who might be called "serious inquirers" of Christianity.[150]

---

[147] See pp. 67-68.

[148] The Claims of Loo Choo, sec. entitled "Letter IX," p. 6.

[149] Entry of Jan. 1, 1847, Diary of Bettelheim.

[150] Ibid.

He was pleased to hear that when one of them was ill, a former servant was healed after his prayer for Jesus, and that ". . . the same individual continued in the faith."[151] The servant was identified with the person called Nācā in his diary.[152] Thus, the LNM report based upon his letter entered the same practice to the servants in those days: ". . . he is gradually and imperceptibly leading them [servants, guards, and interpreters] unto a knowledge of the holy scriptures . . . ."[153]

However, Bettelheim had soon found another favorite servant leaving. As to him he remarked: "It was our cook, who though a very bad cook, still not far from the kingdom of heaven, kept to the rest of the servants in mind well exposed towards religion, being himself duly present at prayers and leading them by his own example."[154] The servant left the temple under the pretext of strong attachment to his own family, but it is sure that the servant was forced to leave under the pressure of Shuri. Bettelheim's diary on January 23 had to enter another lamentable event of the day, expressing his sorrow: "Had a day of incomparable grief. One of our servants, though humblest, . . . desired to return home . . . ."[155] However, that was not all. To his great surprise, Bettelheim had to be confronted by a more regrettable action taken by the rest of his servants on the same day: "But who can conceive my deep felt pain when afterwards, the hour for prayer having arrived all the remaining servants declared they would rather leave than continue to come to this exercise."[156] The servants repeated the same refusal two days later, though they seemed to have attended the usual Lord's day instruction on the previous day, January 24, 1847. Their refusal was that a learning like Christian doctrine was suitable to students of the ruling class, not for farmers like the servants. Bettelheim felt it odd to hear repeatedly and openly that they were too stupid to learn anything beyond the cultivation of potatoes and rice.[157] All his persuasion failed to let them think over again.

---

[151] *The Claims of Loo Choo*, sec. entitled "Letter IX," p. 7.

[152] Entry of Jan. 17, 1847, Diary of Bettelheim.

[153] LNM, ed., *The Report of the Loochoo Mission*, 1847, p. 6.

[154] Entry of Jan. 19, 1847, Diary of Bettelheim.

---

[155] Entry of Jan. 23, 1847, ibid.

[156] Ibid.

The missionary now began to realize that the machination of the surveillance was more complicated than he ever thought. Up to this time, he still could not comprehend well the role of Satsuma concerning the control of Christianity. However, the entry of February 28, 1847 of his diary indicates his growing realization of the machination: ". . . the todzies or guardians that surround us are a body representing several bodies, the government, the clergy or bodzies, and *probably also some foreign power, Japan* or China."[158] (Italics mine.) Nevertheless, he could not grasp the exact nature of Satsuma-Ryukyu relations for another year.

By this time, Bettelheim's missionary work was so active as not to be passed over in silence by Shuri. The Chief Councillor, Urasoe Ōji, sent a letter, dated May 29, 1847, to Satsuma's Chief Page, Ijūin, reporting Bettelheim's activities. In this letter,[159] Shuri for the first time reported that Bettelheim was applying missionary work to Shuri. It stated that in spite of Shuri's refusal, Bettelheim often went out and shouted for worshipping the Lord. It is interesting to note that the Chief Councillor minimized Bettelheim's missionary work, stating that ". . . the resident Frenchmen and Englishman seem not to be teaching [their] doctrine for the present."[160] There must have been a political consideration of the Chief Councillor to cover up their inability in curbing Bettelheim's active work, since Shuri had already issued the various objections against the missionaries.

---

[157] Entry of Jan. 25, 1847, *ibid*.

[158] Entry of Feb. 28, 1847, *ibid*.

[159] *Ishin Shiryō*, sec. I, v. IV, pp. 558-60.

For Bettelheim, the Golden age of the mission was waning gradually since the beginning of the new year, 1847. Shuri's anti-Christian measure was now enforced more effectively upon the populace. Six days before the above letter, May 23, Bettelheim thus experienced "a heart-breaking day," describing ". . . [I] found the Tumai station pretty well peopled, but could obtain no ear, whomever I addressed either turned the back or took up the bag or basket, and moved to another place . . . ."[161] Alarmed by

---

[160] Ibid., p. 559.

[161] The Claims of Loo Choo, sec. entitled "Letter XII," p. 25.

Bettelheim's progress in missionary work, Shuri's stern hand was closing in its law enforcement against him. The next Lord's day, May 30, was another "heart-breaking day;" his preaching tour to Shuri, Tomari, and Naha failed in drawing an attentive audience. He remarked: "It became now with each Lord's day, more painful to give the details of the day's talk [in the diary]."[162]

Since the days of Forcade, it was the official task to follow the resident foreigners whenever the latter went out of doors. Bettelheim was no exception, being followed by the official called chikusaji (patrolman). They either arrived ahead of Bettelheim at his favorite preaching places in order to drive away the people there or disturbed the most heated part of Bettelheim's discourse first by giving the warning signal of a whistle and then by driving about the audience. As time went on, the audience dispersed one by one as if the tide was at its ebb until the missionary himself was left alone in a square. Even, while he was walking on the street, gates and doors of the natives' residences were closed as he advanced, and the pedestrians walked away from him into another street.

---

[162] Ibid., p. 26.

In the midst of isolation, he entered in the diary: "We in Loo Choo are neglected. We are like lepers thrown out from the camp."[163] His letter to the LNM, dated August 31, 1847, described his irritated state of mind: "No body cared for me whenever I appeared. I stood in the midst of the market, and all went on eating and drinking, and buying and selling, as though I was not there . . . ."[164] However deplorably his preaching deteriorated, Bettelheim did not cease missionary work each Lord's day. Except in a few cases, this patient, strong-willed missionary went out regularly seeking the sheep.

Since the beginning of his missionary work in 1846, he was usually accompanied by Mrs. Bettelheim in due consideration that the native women could be approached by the strange foreign priest without giving any fear. This was the right strategy as his diary shows. Even though Shuri enforced the prohibitive laws upon the people, Bettelheim occasionally found those who willingly listened to his discourse. Among them, there were many women and children approaching the foreign couple.

---

[163] Entry of June 1, 1847, Diary of Bettelheim.

[164] The Claims of Loo Choo, sec. entitled "Letter IX," p. 6.

While experiencing the increasing difficulties in missionary work, he was confronted with the same kind of obstacle in mastering the new language as well. As mentioned before, the translation of the scriptures into the native tongue was one of his objectives from the beginning of his stay on the island. To this point, some authors have a different view, asserting that the reason Bettelheim devoted himself to the translation of the Bible into Ryukyuan resulted from the difficulty of missionary work in Okinawa.[165] Bettelheim, they state, thus engaged in translation in order to use it for his future missionary work in Japan. This view is only partly right. Bettelheim had already made up his mind to translate the Bible even before he arrived there.[166] He did not translate the Scriptures solely because of the difficulty in his missionary enterprise on Okinawa, but did so because of its immediate use on Okinawa and of the future use in Japan proper as his diary states.[167]

Both discourse and translation of course depended upon his progress in mastering the new language, but translation would need more knowledge of it. Naturally, the discourse had been commenced long before the translation had. As mentioned before, he seemed to know how to write the kana (Japanese syllabary) by the time of his arrival at Okinawa.[168] However, it is questionable that he could use the characters in writing the Japanese text effectively at that time. His first concern in the language problem was to master Chinese, which was taught by the Chinese interpreter Liu and showed remarkable progress. On the other hand, Japanese was not neglected; not only the missionary but also Mrs. Bettelheim studied hard in learning it.[169] Compared with the doctor, Mrs. Bettelheim seemed to be slower in mastering the new language. Bettelheim wrote to the LNM that as Mrs. Bettelheim was able to write the kana, his translation work became much easier.[170] It refers to the event as of December 9, 1847, and by this time the linguistically gifted Bettelheim was far ahead of his wife.

---

[165] H.S. Schwartz, The Loo Choo Island, pp. 13-14 and Yoshida, op. cit., part 3, p. 19.

[166] See p. 22.

[167] Entry of Feb. 10, 1847, Diary of Bettelheim.

---

[168] See p. 63.

[169] LNM, ed., The Report of the Loochoo Mission, 1847, p. 6.

[170] The Claims of Loo Choo, sec. entitled "Letter XIII," May 1, 1850, p. 36.

As his Ryukyuan improved, Bettelheim ventured into translation as well as discourse. His first work in translation was the Book of Common Prayer. A part of it had been translated into Chinese by Robert Morrison (1782-1834, British missionary to China). Bettelheim began the translation of it from Chinese into Ryukyuan since about November 13, 1846,[171] three days after his first preaching. By December 1 of the same year, he had translated a considerable part of the Morning Prayer: The General Confession, the Absolution, the Lord's Prayer, [The Apostles'] Creed, and *Gloria Patri*.[172]

Even though one takes his linguistic capacity into consideration, it is still a bold attempt to translate it into a newly acquired language which he had only several months to practice. Of course, he admitted the help from the interpreters in the translation.[173] The late Professor Miyara, a linguist, made clear that the role of the native interpreters in Bettelheim's translation work was very significant.[174] However, the missionary could not always secure their help, because they refused cooperation whenever he inquired of something related to Christianity even from the early days of his stay on the island. In fear of Satsuma's prohibitive policy toward Christianity, they often taught erroneous or twisted usage of the language intentionally. Thus, Bettelheim had to do his translation work for the most part by himself. Having finished the translation of the part of the Common Prayer, Bettelheim started the next work, the translation of the Gospel of Luke.

---

[171] Entry of Nov. 13, 1846, Diary of Bettelheim.

[172] Entry of Dec. 1, 1846, *ibid*.

[173] Entry of Nov. 19, 1846, *ibid*.

The work was commenced on about February 10, 1847, and was accomplished by July 8 in the same year.[175] The process seemed to be the same as that of the Common Prayer -- the translation from the Chinese version done by missionaries in China, such as Walter Henry Medhurst (1796-1857). The reason why he first chose the Gospel of Luke and then the Acts of the Apostles to translate was that he thought these "in themselves constitute a whole, and give at the same time a complete narrative of the rise and establishment of the kingdom of God."[176] Bettelheim seemed to be charmed by the Gospel of Luke's special attention to Jesus' care for the poor, the despised, and the weak and to the importance of women in the kingdom of God.

---

[174] Masamori Miyara, "Betteruhaimu-hakase no Gyōseki" [Achievements of Dr. Bettelheim], Okinawa Times (Naha), Aug. 29, 1954.

[175] Entries of Feb. 10, and July 8, 1847, Diary of Bettelheim.

As he became acquainted with the social conditions of Okinawa, Bettelheim showed sympathy for the poor commoner under the yoke of feudalism. The more Shuri disturbed his missionary work among the people, the more Bettelheim assumed a critical attitude toward the former. Already on November 2, 1846, he openly accused Shuri of misgovernment of responsibility for the wretchedness and misery of the poor in some winters.[177] One day, his Sunday sermon was again disturbed. The furious missionary, without knowing much about the anti-Christian laws, convinced himself that there was a system of slavery in the kingdom.[178] There was no institution of slavery there at that time, but the people suffered from the rigid hand of the oppressors within and without the kingdom -- those of Shuri and Kagoshima. On Okinawa many women worked at the markets, where Bettelheim usually chose as favorable preaching spots. It was natural that those who were driven away mostly consisted of the female sellers and customers. Thus, the sympathy to the poor people influenced him in his choice of the Gospel of Luke.

---

[176] The Claims of Loo Choo, sec. entitled "Letter XIII," p. 18.

[177] Entry of Nov. 2, 1846, Diary of Bettelheim.

[178] Entry of Dec. 6, 1846, ibid.

His translation of Luke met more obstacles than that of the Common Prayer. As we discussed before, Shuri could not ignore Bettelheim's activities from the early months of 1847. The interpreters more often declined their cooperation in the translation by sabotaging their assigned work.[179] The real collision came in June,1847 when Bettelheim asked Shuri to send an instructor of Japanese. He had a double aim for his application: to improve his writing in Japanese and to secure another hand in translation. On June 8, Ichirazichi, the chief interpreter and liaison officer of the kingdom, told Bettelheim that the missionary's application made in the previous week was accepted by Shuri.[180]

Two days later, one interpreter called Tōma was asked by Bettelheim to teach how to read an excerpt of Christian content written in Chinese, probably the sentences from the Chinese version of the Bible. The interpreter declined the missionary's demand on account of his unfamiliarity with this kind of text. The next day, June 11, Bettelheim repeated the same request and drove the interpreter from the temple where the interpreter was stationed, noting that Tōma was not needed to serve there any more.[181]

---

[179] Entry of Mar. 20, 1847, ibid.

[180] The Claims of Loo Choo, sec. entitled "Letter XII," p. 29.

Afterward, other interpreters came to the temple, but they, though one of them was very friendly with Bettelheim, also declined to help the translation.[182] On the following day, another interpreter, Gushiken, was driven away from the temple because of his refusal to Bettelheim's same proposal. The furious missionary then hurried other interpreters all together from their post in the temple ground, instead bringing in his own table and chair there.[183] Bettelheim declared that the interpreters needed not to serve him because they refused to interpret the book into Ryukyuan.

---

[181] "Correspondence from Ōgimi *satonushi-pēchin* to Onaga *pēchin*," June 12, 1847, *Kyu Ryukyu-han Hyōjōjo Shorui* [Documents of the State Council of the Former Ryukyu Clan], Ryukyu Ōfu [Royal Office of Ryukyu], comp., no pagination (xeroxed MSS). Cited hereafter as *Hyōjōjo Shorui*.

[182] *The Claims of Loo Choos*, sec. entitled "Letter XII," p. 30.

[183] "Correspondence from Ōgimi *satonushi-pēchin* to Onaga *pēchin*, *op. cit*.

The authorities told him that they declined the assignment because Bettelheim asked them to interpret an unfamiliar Christian book which they could not teach, and that they would teach how to read Chinese books in the Ryukyuan tongue. However, on the following morning, June 13, the interpreters did not bring the text book, making an excuse of being the Lord's day: they would not work as Bettelheim usually urged observance of the Sabbath to the people.[184] To this reply, the missionary burst into a rage. The pipe was snatched from the mouth of an "impudent" interpreter, and other belongings of the interpreters together with mats of the post were thrown to the ground by the enraged missionary.[185] Shuri was shocked by his determined action against the uncooperative officials. It was inconvenient for them to watch over the foreigners if he persistently refused the interpreter's station at the post. As mentioned before, the interpreters functioned as part of surveillance as well as liaison officers.

---

[184] The Claims of Loo Choo, sec. entitled "Letter XIII," p. 5.

[185] Ibid., and Correspondence from Ōgimi satonushi-pēchin to Oroku pēchin, June 13, 1847, Hyōjōjo Shorui.

Now, it was Shuri who compromised at the certain point. They decided to teach Bettelheim Ryukyuan by using the Four Books of Confucianism. Of course, this decision needed the permission from the zaiban bugyō, and it was obtained.[186] From June 13 on, the Christian priest was taught formally how to translate Chinese into the Ryukyuan dialect through Confucian books.

A half month later, this arrangement became unbearable for Bettelheim. One day, he asked the interpreter to teach how to interpret another excerpt from the Christian book written in Chinese as on the previous occasion. The three interpreters were routed out of the post because of their refusal. The following day, June 29, two more interpreters were also asked the same request, and then the same thing happened to them.[187] Bettelheim made it clear that he would learn the Ryukyuan translation from the Christian book,

---

[186] "Correspondence from Oroku pēchin to Ōgimi satonushi-pēchin," June 13, 1847, ibid.

[187] "Letter from the State Council to Satsuma," July 20, 1847, Ishin Shiryō, sec. I, v. VI, p. 364, and The Claims of Loo Choo, sec. entitled "Letter XIII," p. 8.

Filmed as received

without page(s) 111 **.**

UNIVERSITY MICROFILMS.

but not from the books of Confucius and Mencius. The interpreters were adamant as well, refusing Bettelheim's new proposal.

As his last resort, Bettelheim decided to appeal his difficulty directly to the king. On June 30, he wrote an appeal to the monarch, "complaining of the sloth and negligence" of the officials. In the same evening, he went up to the capital and pasted his appeal on the Palace Gate.[188] The appeal had no effect at all. The messenger from the Mayor of Naha notified the missionary the following morning that they could not obtain better interpreters than the present ones whom Bettelheim disliked.[189] Bettelheim had no choice but to learn from the Chinese texts.

Curiously enough, the French missionaries, LeTurdu and Adnet, made the same demand as Bettelheim on the same day, June 28. When they were refused by the interpreters, the French expelled them as well.[190] Concerning the two incidents, Professor Yoshida comments that it is uncertain whether both the English

---

[188] The Claims of Loo Choo, sec. entitled "Letter XIII," p. 9.

[189] Ibid., p. 12.

[190] "Letter from the State Council to Satsuma," July 23, 1847, Ishin Shiryō, sec. I, v. VI, p. 367.

and the French missionaries plotted together secretly to make the same demand on the same day.[191] The present writer found that these two incidents were merely coincidental, without knowing each other's demand to the interpreters. Bettelheim's diary stated:
". . . heard this evening the French missionaries had driven away their Todzies [interpreters] . . . .
I suspect this is an invention of the Todzies . . . ."[192]
(Italics mine.)

Bettelheim's ambition in language study then led to cause another demand on the authorities. One official carelessly revealed to Bettelheim that the *kana* was on the average understood by the natives.[193] The official was heedless because this fact was kept secret from foreigners in order to conceal Satsuma-Ryukyu relations as mentioned before. The next day, July 2, he proposed to hire someone who could teach him the *kana*, because he could not trust the interpreters.[194] This was because those interpreters used to inform Bettelheim that no native knew the kana. Shuri urgently ordered the officials to conceal all the books written in Japanese from Bettelheim's eyes, especially in Bettelheim's neighborhood.[195] This time Shuri did not refuse Bettelheim's request but simply delayed their reply.

---

[191] Yoshida, *op*. *cit*., part I, p. 14.

[192] Entry of July 1, 1847, Diary of Bettelheim.

[193] *The Claims of Loo Choo*, sec. entitled "Letter XIII," p. 13.

[194] "Letter From the State Council to Satsuma," July 20, 1847, *Ishin Shiryō*, sec. I, v. VI, p. 363.

A week later, Liu, Bettelheim's private interpreter, in lieu of the missionary, repeated the request to the authorities.[196] Until August 2, Shuri insisted that Bettelheim could learn the kana from the interpreters, and Bettelheim repeated his original request that he could not trust them and wanted to hire some merchants who had been to Satsuma. One month passed after Bettelheim made the request. Finally, Shuri appointed four interpreters to teach the kana, and they were relieved of their duty to watch the missionary's outside activities.[197] The first lesson was given on August 9.[198]

---

[195] "Letter from Kadena pēchin to Oroku pēchin," July 2, 1847, Hyōjōjo Shorui.

[196] "Letter from Liu [to Shuri]," n.d., Lin Ch'i Chi, pp. 42-43, and "Letter from the State Council to Satsuma," July 23, 1847, Ishin Shiryō, sec. I, v. VI, p. 366.

[197] "Letter from Kadena pēchin to Onga pēchin," Aug. 2, 1847, Ishin Shiryō, sec. I, v. VI, p. 375.

By this time, he had finished the translation of Luke. The entry of the day stated that he kept on copying the translation of it. Here, another question arises: Why did Bettelheim ask Shuri's permission to hire someone who could teach the kana. The previous studies on Bettelheim in most cases are concerned with the beginning of Bettelheim's learning of the Ryukyuan dialect and the kana. Professor Higaonna, for example, maintained that Bettelheim tried to learn the kana from about the fifth month of the fourth year of Kōka (June 13-July 11, 1847).[199] He seems to have used the content of Ryukyuan documents for evidence. If we take up the Ryukyuan documents solely, Bettelheim seemed to have started learning the kana from that period. However, as we mentioned before, the zaiban bugyō reported Bettelheim's acquaintance with the kana from the beginning of his stay on Okinawa.[200]

By December 1, 1846, his diary reveals that he had finished translating part of the Common Prayer into

---

[198] The Claims of Loo Choo, sec. entitled "Letter XIII," p. 18.

[199] Higaonna, op. cit., p. 127.

[200] See p. 63.

Ryukyuan.[201] The translation of Luke was done between February 10 and July 8, 1847.[202] At the present time we can not gain access to the draft of the translation of Luke, so that it is hard to judge whether he really wrote it in the _kana_. But, the present writer found a sample of his knowledge of the syllabary in his diary. It is a hymn of eight verses written in the Ryukyuan dialect using the _kata_ _kana_ (straight-lined Japanese syllabary).[203] The hymn was translated on June 6, 1847, two days before Ichirazichi, the chief interpreter, announced Shuri's permission to teach the _kana_. Though Bettelheim's hymn in Ryukyuan is grammatically crude, it shows that he could write the _kana_ well. Besides, he had already finished the greater part of the translation of Luke into Ryukyuan.

In what script did he write the first draft of Luke? Up to the present, no authors on Bettelheim have made this point clear. The present writer could not find any clue from the missionary's diary about it except several indications which the previous works could not explain: first, Bettelheim could write the kana well by June 8, 1847; second, he had translated the greater part of Luke by this time; finally, if he could not use the kana adequately, the translation of Luke was probably written in Roman letters as he spelled them out in the right hand side of the hymn.

---

[201] See p. 104.

[202] See p. 105.

[203] Entry of June 6, 1847, Diary of Bettelheim.

Concerning the last fact, one of his letters states his translation process about the time of August 31:

> . . . the whole Gospel of St. Luke, the greater part of the Morning Prayer, besides other portions of Scriptures and a condensed sketch of the whole plan of salvation . . . , all of which, translated into the Loochooans [italics original], is now copying, being written over with Japanese letters [italics mine], and purified from the peculiarities of the local dialect as much as my knowledge of the Japanese admits of.[204]

From the above letter, we see that Bettelheim was rewriting the first draft in the kana with the help of the interpreters about August 31. It is not quite certain to what extent Bettelheim got help from them. At the same time, the letter suggests the possibility that his first draft of Luke was written in Roman letters. From these evidences, it is safe to conclude that the true intention of Bettelheim's proposal to hire a language teacher was not only to improve his already acquired knowledge in the language but also to secure a good proof reader for his translation of Luke.

---

[204] The Claims of Loo Choo, sec. entitled "Letter IX," p. 8.

At any rate, did Bettelheim get good treatment after June-July controversy? The answer is negative. The interpreters were always ready to stop instruction whenever Bettelheim asked something related to Christianity. He thus remarked in his letter to the LNM: ". . . the very Todzies, or interpreters, who assisted me in the translating, are the worst of Loochooans, a set of liars and hypocrites, which Government makes use of to deal with all arriving foreigners . . . ."[205] However, he was not entirely surrounded by unkind officials. There was at least one interpreter who showed a friendly attitude to him.

Though the conditions surrounding his translation work did somewhat improve, those surrounding the missionary work did not. The Bettelheim-Shuri relations further worsened a theft of money from the Bettelheims on July 5, 1847. About six hundred dollars (Mexican dollars) in cash was stolen, and only fifteen dollars were left in their hands.[206] He appealed for an official investigation, and the two French priests also helped in appealing to Shuri.[207] From then on to next March, about fifteen letters were exchanged between Shuri and Bettelheim, even though the thieves were caught in November. Part of the stolen money was recovered from the thieves, but Shuri returned the full amount to Bettelheim.

---

[205] _Ibid_.

At first Bettelheim suspected the interpreters from Shuri as the criminals.[208] Then, a servant called Kanegushiku was suspected by Bettelheim, but Shuri informed the missionary that the servant was innocent.[209] The investigation was conducted slowly from the missionary's viewpoint. They did not accept Bettelheim's proposal to interrogate the suspect in front of Bettelheim.[210] As a last resort, he appealed vainly to the king, stating that a subject of Great Britain would never tell a lie because the British believed in God.[211] After more than three months, the case was still unsolved. It is natural that Bettelheim suspected the government, which might have had a hand in the case to get rid of him from the island.[212] The real offenders were caught in November and condemned to exile to the remote islands for life and fifteen years respectively.[213] While the case was still unsolved, both parties, Bettelheim and Shuri, suspected each other. Their relationship was far from amicable. The case was a prologue to the end of the "Golden Age of the mission."

---

[206] Entry of July 5, 1847, Diary of Bettelheim.

[207] Letter from Bettelheim to Shuri, July 5, 1847; and Letter from LeTurdu and Adnet, July 5, 1847, Lin Ch'i Chi, pp. 38-42.

[208] Letter from Kadena pēchin to Onaga pēchin, July 16, 1847, Ishin Shiryō, sec. I, v. VI, p. 374.

[209] Letter from the pu chêng ta fu to Bettelheim, July 26, 1847, Lin Ch'i Chi, pp. 56-65.

[210] Letter from the tsung li ta ch'ên to Bettelheim, Aug. 23, 1847, ibid., pp. 69-71.

The final blow came toward the end of October when the king died. The king, Sho Iku, died on October 27, 1847. Bettelheim presented a dirge in Chinese for the late king.[214] Its content is not clear, but it expressed his great sorrow at the death of the monarch and regret for their refusal to accept his medical service which might have cured the illness of the king. Three days later, October 31, the state funeral took place. Late in the morning of the day, the two French priests dropped in on the Bettelheims and urged the latter to join the state funeral. Bettelheim originally had no intention of going out on that day for fear of possible trouble with the officials, but, at the Frenchmen's strong insistence, decided to join them, along with Mrs. Bettelheim. Bettelheim described what happened when they approached the capital:

---

[211] Letter from Bettelheim to the king, Aug. 24, 1847, _ibid_., pp. 74-78.

[212] _The Claims of Loo Choo_, sec. entitled "Letter IX," p. 13.

[213] Letter from the State Councillors to the Clan Councillors of Satsuma, Mar. 30, 1847, _Hyōjōjo Shorui_.

[214] "From Bettelheim to Shuri," Oct. 28, 1847, _Lin Ch'i Chi_, pp. 83-84.

> No sooner had we reached about half of the first hill, than a loud "sa, sa, sa" was heard from all sides, long bamboos were formidably wielded, intermixed with common pieces of fire wood, by surrounding multitude . . . . the whole mass pushed on us as it were downwards.. . . I lost my sight of our French friends.[215]

Fortunately, Bettelheim and his wife were pushed aside out of the crowd. Seeing Adnet beaten, Bettelheim rushed in to help the French. At this moment, he had a blow on his hand as well. Bettelheim fiercely protested to the crowd, saying that they came there merely to pay respect to the late king. Immediately, the crowd became calm and made an excuse that they meant not to beat Bettelheim but to chastise the French.[216]

---

[215] The Claims of Loo Choo, sec. entitled "Letter XIII," p. 13.

Later, Bettelheim learned the French indiscretion caused the trouble with the natives. The French had previously been notified twice by the officials not to go to the capital. Ignoring the official warning, they went up the capital and had a fight with the natives in the early morning of the same day. Despite their trouble with the natives, the French invited the Bettelheims to go up to the capital with them. At this time, the natives saw the French with sticks in their hands, which might have brought about the natives' anger. The natives were also excited at seeing Bettelheim's two European dogs which were unusually big to the natives' eyes.

Next day, Bettelheim sent a letter of protest to Shuri.[217] It was followed by a long series of correspondence between Bettelheim and Shuri. Shuri replied that it was the foreigner's fault to cause the incident by setting the dogs on the natives and by swinging the sticks over the natives.[218] Bettelheim held the view that the natives commenced the first assault on the foreigners, and that the latter were on the defensive.[219] As he observed, it was the French indiscretion which caused the further trouble with the natives. At any rate, the Bettelheims were involved in the trouble against their will.

---

[216] Ibid.

[217] "Letter from Bettelheim to Shuri," Nov. 1, 1847, Lin Ch'i Chi, pp. 87-89.

The incident occurred while the theft problem was still unsettled. When we examine the records of the period (July 5, 1847 - April 14, 1848), Shuri and Bettelheim exchanged correspondence in regard to the theft problem and the state funeral incident alternately.[220] Under these circumstances, it was hard to expect the development of friendly relations between the two parties. One strike on his hand on October 31 ended the Golden Age of the mission and opened the "thorny path" period of the mission.

4. The English Free Hospital

Bettelheim was a physician by profession.

---

[218] "Letter from Bettelheim to Shuri," Nov. 1, 1847, Lin Ch'i Chi, pp. 87-89.

[219] "Letter from the pu chêng ta fu to Bettelheim, Nov. 24, 1847, ibid., pp. 102-6.

[220] Ibid., pp. 35-137.

This qualification was weighed well when he was engaged by the LNM which had planned to send two men -- a physician and an ordained minister -- to Okinawa. Because of the lack of funds and suitable men, they decided to send Bettelheim to fill both roles. While staying in England and Hongkong, Bettelheim prepared medicine and medical instruments for the assigned place. Upon his arrival at Naha, he identified himself as a physician to the authorities and to the French missionary, stating, to their great surprise, that he would buy land and settle on the island.[221]

As to Bettelheim's identification as physician, Professor Yoshida maintains that it was due to his deliberation on the conditions of the kingdom, which was forced to follow the anti-Christian policy of Japan.[222] Bettelheim, according to Professor Yoshida, approached the natives at first through his medical service in order to propagate Christianity eventually and gradually. His reasoning is based upon Bettelheim's signatures on the correspondence with Shuri. Though the French identified themselves as priests from the beginning, Bettelheim used to sign "the English doctor" in various ways up to about 1849.

---

[221] "Report of the zaiban bugyō to the home government," May 10, 1846, Ishin Shiryō, sec. I, v. I, p. 306.

[222] Yoshida, op. cit., part I, pp. 8-9.

The present writer thinks there are additional reasons concerning Bettelheim's exclusive usage of the title of doctor instead of calling himself a missionary, because he was not acquainted with the complicated relations between Satsuma and Ryukyu.[223] Bettelheim's consideration to use only "the doctor" must have been derived from (1) his deference to the rival French priests,[224] (2) the view that he thought it unnecessary to profess his status to the authorities because the religious matter was not their concern,[225] and (3) his deference to his unordained position.

It was the original plan of the LNM to send two men, one an ordained "clergy of the Church of England, the other a pious Medical Gentleman."[226] The idea to send an ordained clergy had not been abandoned by either the LNM or Bettelheim until the dispatch of E.H. Moreton in February,1854. Thus, Bettelheim might always have kept in mind the circumstances of his engagement and refrained from calling himself a clergyman to the natives.

---

[223] See pp. 21-22. [224] See pp. 78-80.

[225] See p. 76.

[226] LNM, ed., Prospectus of the Loochoo Mission, Sept. 30, 1843, p. 2.

After the Starling left the island, the authorities had to find a house for the Bettelheim as discussed before. One condition for the residence by Bettelheim was a house large enough to have a room for medical service. The Gokoko-ji satisfied Bettelheim for this purpose, because the house assigned to him had several rooms and was close to the residential area of the people. After he moved into the temple, Bettelheim displayed medicine and medical instruments before the officials, including the native physicians, and offered his medical service to the people.[227]

Having no answer from Shuri, Bettelheim proposed the same plan again on May 15.[228] However, the doctor was not able to get a favorable response from Shuri, which repeatedly refused his service on the ground that "the medical art of this country is often learnt from China and has been sufficient itself

---

[227] "Report of the zaiban bugyō to the home government," May 10, 1846, Ishin Shiryō, sec. I, v. I, p. 364; and Entry of May 8, 1846, Diary of Bettelheim.

[228] "Report of the zaiban bugyō to the home government," May 26, 1846, Ishin Shiryō, sec. I, v. I, p. 371.

[without the help of Bettelheim]. . . ."[229] From the beginning of his settlement on Okinawa, Shuri took the position that his medical service to the people was not sanctioned by the law of the land. On May 16, Forcade visited Bettelheim's new residence. He was told about Bettelheim's difficulty in securing the permission to engage in medical practice. Forcade later commented in his diary that the officials wanted neither Bettelheim himself nor his medicine.[230]

Nevertheless, the doctor was never discouraged by Shuri's refusal. Around July 6, 1846, the doctor opened the "English Free Hospital." LeTurdu was the first man to be treated, though the Frenchman was riduculing the hospital idea at heart.[231] The formal prospectus was written in Chinese and presented to Shuri on June 24.[232] The opening sentence read as follows:

> The present doctor of Great Britain, formerly in Europe engaged in dispensing medicine and

---

[229] "Report of the zaiban bugyō to the home government," May 10, 1846, ibid., p. 364.

[230] Entry of May 16, 1846, Journal of Forcade.

[231] Entry of July 8, 1846, ibid.

[232] The Prospectus, June 24, 1846, Lin Ch'i Chi, pp. 18-21.

> practicing, has studied numerous, serious illnesses. Now, the present doctor came from afar in order to do good and to help [the people]. Besides, [the present doctor] would neither do it for buying and selling nor be over-anxious for gains and fame. Therefore, [the present doctor] has brought [here] various medicines and medical tools. If there are those who unfortunately become ill, whether it be for internal treatment, surgery, or various diseases of limbs, head, ears, eyes, nose, and so forth, please visit the present hospital. [The present doctor] will endeavor to give medical treatment. The present doctor, in providing medicine, will not receive a fee.[233]

He then cited instances of similar hospitals opened by Europeans in China, such as those in Canton, Ninpo, Shanghai, and Hongkong. The six hospital regulations were listed: (1) the pharmacist's office opens between 9:00 and 10:00 [no indication of a.m. or p.m.] except worshipping day (Sunday), (2) those who want hospitalization need to bring their own bedding and tableware, (3) in-patients shall always keep themselves clean, (4) no noise, gambling, smoking, and drinking are allowed in the hospital, (5) poor patients are daily served food and money, and (6) in-patients shall follow the above regulations, etc.[234]

The grand opening of the hospital was not followed by flourishing business, since Shuri denied the native's access to the resident foreigners. The guard houses in front of the temple served the purpose of checking everyone entering there. Under these circumstances, no native seemed to have a chance to be treated by Western medicine.

---

[233] _Ibid_., p. 18.

[234] _Ibid_., pp. 19-21.

The actual development was different. When we see the prohibitive order concerning the ophthalmologic treatment offered by Bettelheim, issued on August 8, 1846,[235] it is evident that Shuri's surveillance was not perfect. The native patients could receive his medical care while the doctor was walking on the street. The number of beneficiaries of course was limited. His letter to the Chinese Repository, dated October 17, 1846, reported that there were "very few patients" at his hospital.[236]

Around this time, he sent the proposal for medical service and his offer of instruction in English, geography, astronomy, etc. for the second time.[237]

---

[235] Majikina Ankō, "Betteruhaimu to Okinawa no Ijutsu ⌈Bettelheim and Okinawan medical art⌋," Okinawa Asahi Shinbun (Naha), May 20, 1926.

[236] "Journal of Occurances," The Chinese Repository, v. XV, No. 11 (Nov.,1846), p. 576.

[237] "Application from Bettelheim to Shuri," n.d., Lin Ch'i Chi, pp. 24-23; and entry of Jan. 16, 1847, Diary of Bettelheim.

Shuri was still silent. Silence did not mean consent: surveillance over the natives' access to Bettelheim was in force. It was impossible for Bettelheim to treat the people at his hospital, although his diary still noted the treatment of some patients there. Those were mostly the officials -- interpreters and the guards themselves! They knew, through their close observation, that European medicine was better than Chinese medicine. While they prevented the people from access to it, they, yielding to temptation, abused their power. On October 21, 1846, for example, the diary records: "Had a patient among the attending petty mandarins, a case of Erysipiles . . . ."[238] The long-delayed reply came on November 10, 1846, as discussed before.[239] The application of his medical service for the native was formally turned down.

Did he give up his medical work? The answer is no: the doctor actually served the people for the entire period of his stay on the island as often as he had the opportunity to do so. As time went on, his reputation as a good physician spread widely among the native population. The following months after the governmental reply witnessed the gradual increase of visiting patients at his hospital. Less than one month after Shuri's reply, Bettelheim had already several patients in a week.[240] All the patients were petty mandarins, mostly suffering from cutaneous disease. As a physician, he concluded: "Filthiness and low diet appear to be the chief causes of this prevalence."[241] Bettelheim's dream to operate the hospital legally did not cease at all. He thus made another vain appeal to Shuri in the beginning of the new year.[242]

---

[238] Entry of Oct. 21, 1846, Diary of Bettelheim.

[239] See pp. 74-75.

However, the medical practitioners of the kingdom began to pay attention to the European in the same profession. Either out of curiosity or eagerness in the pursuit of science, these native doctors met Bettelheim one evening. The delighted Bettelheim felt it was now his "duty to give them the best information [he] could, all of which they pencilled down in Chinese."[243] Bettelheim presented them information about bloodletting, paralysis, apoplexy and some acute inflammatory diseases. After that evening, the native doctors often sought his advice in medicine on various occasions.

---

[240] Entry of Dec. 5, 1846, Diary of Bettelheim.

[241] Ibid.

[242] Entry of Jan. 16, ibid.

[243] Entry of Mar. 14, 1847, ibid.

His reputation in medicine seemed to spread soon even among the upper class of Shuri. One day, a group with "captivating bearded Jewish faces" paid a visit at the temple.[244] These dignified-looking people asked Mrs. Bettelheim to play European music by piano, and the lady amused them. But, the true intention of their visit at the temple seemed not to listen to Western music. The doctor states: "Afterward came the request for medicines . . . -- no less than three of the party wanted medicine for inveterated 'Psora,' and one for some indurated spots on the faces; all being served . . . ."[245]

All the above were his medical records within one year of his settlement on the island. He summarized it as follows: "In the first year of my arrival, I have upwards of fifty patients, most of them suffering from cutaneous diseases . . . . Cataract, leucoma and staphyloma, are not rare . . . ."[246] (Italics mine.) Fifty patients in a year mean he treated fewer than five patients a month. Under the unfavorable conditions, however, one cannot say it was a small number at all, because the top officials in the government thought that none visited the hospital.

---

[244] The Claims of Loo Choo, sec. entitled "Letter XII," p. 21. These people were actually not the Jews, though their features looked like those of the Jews. The Ryukyuans usually have heavier beard than the Chinese or the Japanese.

[245] Ibid.

Here is a correspondence of the Chief Councillor to the Chief Page of Satsuma, dated May 29, 1847: ". . . the Englishman, calling himself a physician, proposed medical care from the beginning. But, as [the government] prohibited [the practice], there is none who has received Englishman's treatment at all . . . ."[247] On the other hand, we can interpret this letter in a different way, since it was the report from the ruled to the ruler. How could the facts of fifty patients treated by Bettelheim pass by without their knowledge? The patients included some from the upper class in Shuri as well. In August, 1846, an order was issued to prohibit the people from receiving ophthalmologic treatment from Bettelheim. The report might be written intentionally to conceal their failure to control Bettelheim's activity from Satsuma.

---

[246] "Letter from B.J. Bettelheim," The Chinese Repository, p. 82.

[247] "Letter from the Chief Councillor to the Chief Page of Satsuma," May 27, 1847, Ishin Shiryō, sec. I, v. IV, p. 559.

The period discussed in this chapter was "the Golden Age" for his medical care too. Shuri's surveillance over medical care was probably not so strict as that over missionary work: there is no record of overt assault on the patients by the authorities. Visiting patients thus did not cease. On May 15, for instance, he delightfully wrote: "To-day one of the patients returned the third time; this . . . relieves me from the fear that the few patients coming . . . ."[248]

It is curious to observe the behavior of the government in this period. Officially, they prohibited Bettelheim's medical care but sometimes acted in a contradictory way. In those days, Bettelheim observed many people dying from small pox. Since he once specialized in epidemiology in Europe, on August 17, 1847, Bettelheim prepared a new proposal for medical care and instruction in medical knowledge concerning small pox.[249] Shuri as usual declined his proposal, but, to his great surprise, stating: "At the present, those who occasionally died just passed away on account of not the inefficiency of medical treatment [of the country] but of Heaven's will . . . ."[250] Shuri's prestige did not allow them to accept the barbarian medicine.

---

[248] The Claims of Loo Choo, sec. entitled "Letter XII," p. 23.

[249] "Proposal from Bettelheim to the king," Aug. 17, 1847, Lin Ch'i Chi, pp. 66-68.

Strangely enough, however, about the same time Bettelheim was paid a visit by the Chief Interpreter of the country, Ichirazichi, who made an inquiry about small pox.[251] How should we interpret these two contradictory behaviors? Since Ichirazichi was not a physician, the knowledge of how to treat small pox was probably not for his immediate usage but for some other men of the government relating to medicine. Because Shuri declined Bettelheim's proposal officially, Ichirazichi seemed to be sent as a private person for this mission lest the government lose face.

Up to the state funeral incident in October, 1847, Bettelheim still could treat patients, though not so many, without overt interference. Despite the prohibitive order against ophthalmologic treatment of Bettelheim, one relatively high-ranking official of Shuri received collyrium from the Western doctor. As a token of his gratitude for recovery from the eye disease, the official sent two melons to the Bettelheims on August 30, 1847.[252] Besides, the doctor recorded: "several respectable persons from the capital called, and the itch ointment and eye-water promised well . . . ."[253]

---

[250] Daybook of the Arrival of the Englishman, seventh month of the twenty-seventh year of Tao-kuang (Aug. 11-Sept. 8, 1847), Ishin Shiryō, sec. I, v. VI, pp. 614-15.

[251] The Claims of Loo Choo, sec. entitled "Letter XIII," p. 18.

These were the actual circumstances in this period. His medical care became well-known among the natives, but under the prohibitive laws only few people, especially the law-evading officials, could gain access to the benefits of European medicine.

---

[252] The Claims of Loo Choo, sec. entitled "Letter XIII," p. 19.

[253] "Letter from B.J. Bettelheim," The Chinese Repository, p. 82.

CHAPTER THREE

THE THORNY PATH (October 1847 - October 1850)

1. Persecution commenced

A blow at Bettelheim's hand on the day of the state funeral loosened all restraints which both the authorities and the missionary were bound by to that time, thus paving the way for "thorny path" period of his missionary work. Bettelheim strongly protested against the violence committed on the foreigners; the authorities insisted that the foreigners' indiscretion caused the unnecessary trouble on the solemn day of the kingdom. Shuri now warned Bettelheim that the authorities could at their pleasure forbid foreigners to use public roads.[1]

From this time on the determined attitude of the officials was shown in their desperate effort to turn the people away whenever the missionary went out. The interpreters, who had been more friendly than other officials, now joined the disturbers against Bettelheim's activities. When the missionary approached a crowd, the interpreters, "from hidden places, hinted, or beckoned, or threatened the people away."[2] Bettelheim's letter to his friends in China shows how the people acted at the signal of the officials:

---

[1] "Letter from B.J. Bettelheim," The Chinese Repository, p. 41.

> First, there was a bustle, a running here and there, a rattling and clapping of shutting doors and windows, as if a devil incarnate had come in their way; green grocers deserted their stalls, laborers ceased their work, and the crew left their boats; women dragged their children in-doors in such haste and frights, as to make them scream out when they saw me again afar off.[3]

His report to the LNM indicated that the lamentable state lasted the whole month of November, 1847, and the governmental interference with Bettelheim's missionary work increased every Sunday.[4] Letters of protest to the authorities were often turned down on the ground that they contained the name of Jesus or doctrines unfamiliar to them as Confucians. Several new guardhouses were built along the lanes which led to the temple, so that every movement of Bettelheim, going in and out of the temple, might be closely watched by the authorities. Under these circumstances, when he passed along a street, he "found a complete wildness, a grave-like silence, as if not a living being dwelt in any of the houses bordering the long streets."[5]

---

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *The Claims of Loo Choo*, sec. entitled "Letter XIII," pp. 35-36.

The closing month of 1847 also witnessed the wretched state of his missionary work. The last Sunday of the year, December 26, for instance, was another "heart-breaking" day. The missionary visited a market near his residence early in the morning. The busy people did not pay any attention to him -- men from the countryside, stopping for a while to listen to his strange speech, went away from him the next moment. Disappointed with the first sermon in the market, he went up to Shuri with the hope of a good hearing there. At Tera market in Shuri, Bettelheim secured an audience. He preached to them about the importance of children in the kingdom of God. During the sermon, he saw one woman listen to him eagerly. She then held up her child and evidently animated it so as to hear what he said about his own children. This pleasing state did not last more than half an hour; patrolmen scattered the crowd. The missionary thus entered the day in his journal disheartedly: ". . . a day of much bodily toil, and of no corresponding spiritual reward."[6]

---

[5] "Letter from B.J. Bettelheim," The Chinese Repository, p. 42.

Under these circumstances, Bettelheim had to admit the difficulty to continue propagation in the ordinary way. A new method was sought for breaking up the impasse in which the people were driven away like slaves from the missionary. He expressed a deep affliction in facing the obstacle: ". . . what shall I do unto thee, Lewchew? Thus I asked myself when in the extreme of my perplexity. Faith cometh by hearing, but how shall they hear, when thus driven beyond the reach of the joyful sound?"[7]

The new method was to throw religious tracts into native houses or to distribute these to pedestrians. The method had already been experimented with by Christian missionaries in China before 1839. Since resident work for them was impossible except in Macao and Canton, Protestants endeavored especially to flood China with tracts. Thus, up to 1839 the method was thought the only possible approach to the Chinese.[8]

---

[6] The Claims of Loo Choo, sec. entitled "Letter XIII," pp. 36-37.

[7] "Letter from B.J. Bettelheim," The Chinese Repository, p. 43.

[8] Kenneth S. Latourette, A History of Christian Missions in China, N.Y., 1929, p. 223.

Between 1807 and 1867, it is estimated that about eight hundred kinds of tracts written in Chinese were used by British and American missionaries in China. Out of the above number about one hundred kinds of tracts were smuggled into Japan proper in various ways before the Meiji Restoration of 1868.[9]

While he was in Hongkong in 1846, Bettelheim must have obtained such tracts from his missionary friends there. Thus, on May 5, 1846, four days after his arrival, Bettelheim presented one religious pamphlet with other presents to the king and the officials.[10] On May 29, interpreters received seven pamphlets concerning the Imperial Edict of December, 1844, which permitted the erection of churches in the open ports and the practice of Roman Catholics to the Chinese.[11]

Furthermore, Bettelheim asked Forcade to distribute religious tracts among the Japanese, when Bettelheim heard that Forcade was about to leave for

---

[9] Rekishigaku Kenkyukai [Society for the Study of History], ed., Meiji Ishin Shi Kenkyu Kōza [Lectures on the Study of the History of the Meiji Restoration], v. II, Tokyo, 1962, p. 285.

[10] Report of the zaiban bugyō to the home government, May 10, 1846, Ishin Shiryō, sec. I, v. I, p. 377.

[11] Report of the same to the same, May 29, 1846, ibid., p. 385.

Japan on board a ship of the French fleet. LeTurdu recorded that Bettelheim brought the Chinese versions of the Gospels of St. John, Luke, and Mark, and the Acts of the Apostles. Besides, seventeen Japanese versions of the Gospel of St. John were also entrusted to him on July 4, 1846.[12] Bettelheim reported to the Chinese Repository that he had distributed some tracts among the natives before October 17.[13] Long before the state funeral, Bettelheim thus had distributed some tracts on the island. It was, however, after the state funeral that he distributed tracts on a large scale in the hope of breaking the deadlock.

On Bettelheim's distribution of tracts among the natives, Professor Yoshida has done an admirable study. Professor Yoshida is right when he conjectured that Bettelheim's throwing of tracts into houses was taken up as a method to propagate Christianity among "the invisible islanders."[14] As Bettelheim wrote: "Rolls of portions of Scriptures and of tracts in the Chinese [language], and addresses written in the

---

[12] Letter of LeTurdu to Forcade, July 4, 1846, in the entry of July 6, 1846, Journal of Forcade.

[13] "Journal of Occurrences," The Chinese Repository, v. XV, N. XI (Nov.,1846), p. 576.

[14] See Yoshida, op. cit., part 1, p. 18.

Lewchewan [dialect] -- copies of which my good wife busily helped me to multiply during late night hours -- were *the only missiles* I threw into the besieged courts . . . ."[15] (Italics mine.)

The distribution of tracts increased on a full scale after mid-January,1848. The first noticeable day of the distribution was January 23. On the day, Bettelheim preached the Gospel at several places in Naha. While walking in the town, Bettelheim threw thirteen tracts into private houses and a temple of Confucius.[16] As Bettelheim was under strict surveillance, all tracts were collected from the houses by patrolmen and taken into Shuri's custody. Two days later, January 25, an official from the Palace Cuisine was dispatched to return these tracts into Bettelheim's own hands. The official explained to Bettelheim that the people did not want tracts and thus asked the authorities to return them to Bettelheim.[17] The dispirited missionary asked the official whether Shuri forced the people to hand over tracts to the authorities.

---

[15] "Letter from B.J. Bettelheim," *The Chinese Repository*, p. 43.

[16] Report of the State Councillors to the Clan Councillors of Satsuma, Feb. 9, 1848, *Hyōjōjo Shorui*.

[17] *Ibid*.

But he had to receive these at the official's denial of the existence of such manipulation by Shuri.[18]

Bettelheim did not give up the new method easily at all. Next Sunday, January 30, he wandered about the town, throwing fifty-three pamphlets into twelve places.[19] This time, five papers written in kana were reported distributed by the missionary. Most of the tracts were brought from China and written in kana must have been Bettelheim's home-made tracts as his letter to the Chinese Repository reveals.[20] About the content of the papers the State Council commented that it was incomprehensible.[21] Three days later, the official from Shuri returned these tracts to Bettelheim.

In spite of the official admonition against tract distribution, Bettelheim did not stop throwing tracts into houses, schools, temples, and governmental offices in Naha, Tomari, and Shuri.[22] Beginning in February, 1848, the number and variety of tracts increased. According to Professor Yoshida's statistics, the authorities collected two hundred and fourteen in the first month of the first year of Kaei (February 5 - March 4, 1848), marking the peak of the distributing activities of Bettelheim.[23] It was followed by one hundred and fifty-two tracts in the second month of the same year (March 5 - April 3); eighty-two in the third month (April 4 - May 2); fifty-seven in the fourth month (May 3 - 31), twelve in the fifth month (June 1-30); and none in the sixth month (July 1 - 29).[24] The number of tracts decreased each month as the above statistics indicate.

---

[18] Ibid.

[19] Ibid.

[20] See pp. 142-43.

[21] Report of the State Councillors to the Clan Councillors of Satsuma, Feb. 9, 1848, Hyōjōjo Shorui.

Although the distribution of tracts did not cease until his departure from the island in 1854, it is evident that his enthusiasm for the new method did not last after the fifth month. Every tract he distributed among the people was immediately confiscated and returned to Bettelheim by the authorities.[25] It was a kind of a seasaw game between the authorities and Bettelheim. For the officials, it was so onerous to return these to Bettelheim each time that in February, 1848, they decided to take these into their custody and to return them all together to Bettelheim later.[26] While Bettelheim was distributing tracts, the officials thus took these into their custody until September 26, 1848. On that day, Bettelheim received five hundred and seventy-six tracts which he had distributed during the past seven months.[27] Having received the tracts, Bettelheim had to admit that the new method was not working as well as he had expected.

---

[22] LNM, ed., Report of the LNM for 1848, 1849, p. 9.

[23] Yoshida, *op. cit.*, part 2, p. 25.

[24] *Ibid.*

A new method of propagation had to be found in the midst of the difficulty. Up to that time, Bettelheim had tried two methods of propagation. The first one was street preaching, which he was obliged to stop for a while after the state funeral. The second one, the throwing of tracts, replaced the first to reach

---

[25] Clifford, ed., Report of the LNM for 1848, p. 9.

[26] Report of the State Councillors to the Clan Councillors of Satsuma, March 29, 1848, Hyōjōjo Shorui.

[27] Report of the same to the same, Nov. 22, 1848, ibid.

"the invisible islander." This method was as ineffective and wasteful as when it had been used by other missionaries in China.[28] First, most of the pamphlets were written in Chinese, which only a small portion of the population could read. Secondly, even though Bettelheim chose the houses of educated, well-to-do people to throw these into, the officials, always being after Bettelheim, confiscated these immediately.

It is possible that some tracts were kept secretly by people or were left unnoticed in houses even by the families themselves.[29] Compared with the confiscated ones, the number retained is however considered to be relatively small under the strict surveillance. Since most of the people handed over the tracts immediately to the authorities, a majority of the tracts were returned to Bettelheim without a word having been read.

The last resort left to Bettelheim was to make house-to-house calls, which lasted for the rest of his stay on the island. Of course, it does not mean that he ceased to practice street preaching and the distribution of tracts. On the contrary, the two methods were also practiced whenever he thought desirable. It means that the emphasis shifted to door-to-door visits. The initial period of door-to-door visits demonstrated the crudeness of the new method, perhaps reflecting his irritation at unsuccessful results of tract throwing. The number of tracts distributed decreased drastically in the fifth month (June 1 - 30) -- only twelve tracts, and none in the next month.[30]

---

[28] Latourette, op. cit., p. 224.

[29] Yoshida, op. cit., part 2, p. 13.

While the store of his tracts was almost exhausted no response from the people was perceived under the strict vigilance. Bettelheim now resolved: "Shut out entirely from street labor, nothing remained but boldly to venture into native houses."[31]

His first intrusion into a native house was recorded on June 4, 1848. On that day, while wandering around in Naha, he threw a stone at the door of a store which was closed just before his arrival. This was followed by other attempts of the same kind on June 11 and 18.[32] Bettelheim, however, returned to the damaged houses a few days after each incident and offered the families some amounts of Chinese money to cover repairing cost.[33] Afterwards Bettelheim's bold attempts to open doors closed against him were repeated three times until Shuri made a decision to restrain him.[34]

---

[30] See p. 145.

[31] "Letter from B.J. Bettelheim," The Chinese Repository, p. 48.

[32] Report from the State Councillors to the Clan Councillors of Satsuma, June 20, 1848, Hyōjōjo Shorui.

Having consulted with the *zaiban bugyō*, Shuri dispatched one of its high ranking officials to Bettelheim on June 24. To the protest, Bettelheim explained his situation undauntedly:

> Though I [Bettelheim] am not a thief, every door has been closed while I was going along a street. Since I am the teacher [in Christianity] of this country, it is my duty to teach the doctrines of Christianity. To the intentionally closed doors, [I am] obliged to teach them, even though [I] forcibly intrude into the house.[35]

The official tried to persuade him that the Ryukyuans had learned the way of Confucius and Mencius from of old, so that there was no hope of replacing Confucianism with Christianity by Bettelheim. In addition, Bettelheim was told that in the Ryukyus it was a custom to close gates and doors even during daytime, and that the people did not close them against the missionary.[36]

---

[33] *Ibid.* and another Report of the same to the same, July 7, 1848, *Ibid.*

[34] Two other Reports of the same to the same, Aug. 15 and 28, 1848, *Ibid.*

[35] Report of the same to the same, Aug. 28, 1848, *Ibid.*

However adroitly Shuri made these pretexts, Bettelheim knew the true intention of the government. Therefore, he did not give up the forcible intrusion into native houses for a while. In the beginning, Bettelheim selected the respectable part of the population. This contrasted with the latter part of his stay, in which he visited both privileged and unprivileged classes with equal zeal. He must have thought the upper classes were more receptive to the new religion than the lower classes, because the former could read Chinese, in which most of his religious tracts were written.

The stranger's sudden entrance into native houses usually caused the cries of women and the screams of children. Bettelheim explained how to enter native houses:

> You [the reader of the Chinese Repository] perhaps ask in surprise, at the outset, how I could gain access into houses, whose doors a well trained body of spies would certainly take the precaution to have shut? The answer is simple. I did not enter by the door, at least in most cases, for I could

---

[36] Ibid.

> not, but found my way in through the deep gaps in a dilapidated back wall.[37]

After his sudden appearance in houses, Bettelheim explained to them his intention to visit there quietly. Then, these gentle people listened to his sermons and sometimes welcomed him with other families. After the first visit to a house, he used to drop in the same house later in order to increase their interest in Christianity. As he wrote:

> But invariably the second or third visit to the same house found matters altered. In some instances, I was plainly forbidden the house. In some, all the inmates ran off. In others, the master told me if I had any compassion upon them, I would not expose them to the dangers they ran in letting me enter their doors. . . . in three instances, I had hairbreadth escapes from a good beating; on one occasion the stick being already lifted up for a blow . . . .[38]

This kind of hostile actions against him, mostly instigated by the officials, had never discouraged the missionary. On the contrary, the more difficulty he found in missionary work, the more his zeal for the mission flared up. This man of strong will wrote in August,1846: "In general, all doors are shut as soon as we [he and his wife] appear in the street. Still, as my journal abundantly shows, there are many, many exceptions to this rule, and no Lord's day is now passing, on which I call not on several families."[39] The exceptions, however, did not exist spontaneously but were created mostly by the missionary. As has been mentioned, whenever he and his wife went out, patrolmen followed the couple everywhere at all times. Under these circumstances, it would seem that he would never have any chance to visit the native houses.

---

[37] "Letter from B.J. Bettelheim," The Chinese Repository, p. 60.

[38] Ibid.

Nevertheless, there was always a way out. Since patrolmen followed the couple at certain intervals, the latter gave the former the slip by a sudden change of lanes or by a quick entry into a nearby building. Until they were found by the panic-stricken officials, the couple could deliver sermons and tracts to the people even within a short time.

The couple used to go out every Sunday but were always followed by patrolmen. In order to baffle the officials' design, the missionary sneaked out of his house to reach the people at any time. His favorite path to slip out of his house was that in the rear of his grounds. Soon the officials found the secret path and constructed another guardhouse there to block him out. The dusk of evening was another favorite weapon of the missionary. The tireless missionary would slip out of the temple in the evening, even though he had already gone out in the morning and the afternoon. The tired patrolmen who followed the couple in the morning or in the afternoon neglected or missed their duty in the evening. In this case, too, Bettelheim's strategy was found out, and he was watched closely by other patrolmen on evening duty.

---

[39] B.J. Bettelheim, An Appeal for the LNM, London, 1849, p. 7.

Consequently, he began to consider seriously the dispatch of other missionaries from the LNM to the island. In his letter to the LNM dated August 31, 1847, Bettelheim strongly urged them that "You should send more missionaries; Yes, not only one, but at least two or three more."[40] His intention was to harass the patrolmen by having to watch more missionaries. He continued:

> The more Government [Shuri] would be tired out, and one [the missionary] gains access to the people. At any rate, I think three Missionaries should always be stationed here; one to reside at Napa [Naha], one at Shui[Shuri], and one to move out in the country; and they should engage by turns in the latter task.[41]

---

[40] The Claims of Loo Choo, sec. entitled "Letter IX," pp. 11-12.

[41] Ibid.

The idea proved workable later, though for a brief time, when another missionary, E.H. Moreton, was stationed in 1854. One of the reasons why Bettelheim had always asked the LNM to send additional missionaries was to put his idea into practice.

His appeal for additional missionaries must also have been affected by a series of events at that time. In July,1848, a French priest, Adnet, died on the island, and another one, LeTurdu, left the island in the following month. The two French had come to the island about the same time that Bettelheim arrived there. Since then, as has been mentioned, both parties, Catholics and Protestants, had been competitors in religious enterprise.

From the first year of his settlement, Adnet suffered from illness, which "consisted chiefly of a general weakness, loss of appetite, huskiness of the mouth, and feeling of swooning after the least exertion,"[42] as Bettelheim in the capacity of physician observed. The climate of the island was perhaps unfit for European visitors, including the Bettelheims and the French. Throughout his stay on the island, Bettelheim recorded the illness of his family as caused chiefly from the bad climate of the island. In the beginning, Bettelheim often visited the French and gave Adnet medicines.[43]

---

[42] LNM, ed., Circular and Report of the Loochoo Mission, 1847, p. 5.

However, since the end of the year 1846, both parties gradually became estranged. Their alienation was already noticed by the authorities in May 1846.[44] Almost one year later, the relations between the French and the English still did not improve at all. To Bettelheim's embarrassment, interpreters were seized with curiosity about it. As he recorded:

> Our todzies [the interpreters] asked us why we did not often as before visit the French and why they did not visit us? I gave an answer as well as I could, but really I am apprehensive of the evil impression it may make on the native should the French missionaries continue imprudently to break the good understanding that formerly existed between us.[45]

Unlike Bettelheim, the French introduced themselves as missionaries to the authorities, trying to propagate Christianity from the beginning of their stay. Consequently, they were watched more strictly by the officials than Bettelheim. As early as the end of the year 1846, the French were assaulted by the natives, while Bettelheim was able to preach without much trouble for almost another year. Bettelheim recorded: "Heard this evening the French had been pelted with stones and threatened to be beaten with bamboos by some unmanageable natives."[46]

---

[43] Ibid.

[44] Report of the zaiban bugyō to the home government, May 10, 1846, Ishin Shiryō, sec. I, v. I, p. 378.

[45] Entry of April 11, 1847, Diary of Bettelheim.

Though the main purpose of the French stay was the preparation for propagation in Japan proper, they tried to do missionary work as much as they could. Their proposal for missionary work was declined by Shuri several times. In the second month of the twenty-seventh year of Tao-kuang (March 17 - April 14, 1847), for instance, after the several months' silence the French asked the Ryukyuan interpreters to translate a religious pamphlet written in Chinese into the Ryukyuan tongue.[47] Since the interpreters knew the French intended to use these for missionary work, the request was turned down immediately.

In addition, Ryukyuan documents recorded the French commenced door-to-door visits earlier than Bettelheim. On June 30, 1847, one Frenchman went toward Shuri. On his way to the capital, the foreign priest visited a farm hut. He had sympathy for a woman and children in the hut and offered them money. The surprised natives could not say a word and ran away. The disappointed priest thus returned home without going up to the capital.[48] Similar visits to native houses were recorded on July 21, 1847.[49] Interesting enough, the French paid more attention to Shuri as their missionary ground than Naha. The reason why the French visited Shuri more frequently than Naha must have been their deference to Bettelheim who lived in Naha, which they regarded as the sphere of his missionary activities.

---

[46] Entry of Dec. 26, 1846, ibid.

[47] Letter of the Chief State Councillor to the Chief Page of Satsuma, May 30, 1847, Ishin Shiryō, sec. I, v. IV, p. 559.

Meanwhile, the French began to question themselves about the wisdom of their continued stay on the island under the unfavorable conditions. In Paris, Forcade appealed in July, 1847 to the French authorities to exert pressure on Shuri in an effort to create more favorable conditions, to no avail.[50] On the island, too, LeTurdu and Adnet were contemplating evacuation from there at about the same time, as Shuri observed them.[51]

---

[48] Report of the State Councillors to the Clan Councillors of Satsuma, July 23, 1847, ibid., sec. I, v. VI, p. 357.

[49] Report of the same to the same, July 28, 1847, ibid., p. 359.

[50] Otis Cary, A History of Christianity in Japan; Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox Mission, N.Y., 1909, p. 269.

Two months later, they told Bettelheim their determination to leave the island for China at the first opportunity.[52] They explained that Adnet's health was declining. Then, Bettelheim was urged by the French to accompany them to China because of the difficult conditions for missionary work on the island. Bettelheim, however, cordially declined their proposal, since he thought there were still some opportunities for missionary work.

Unfortunately for the French, the first ship came too late to pick them up. Adnet's health developed critical symptoms in June, 1848, as the Ryukyuan authorities observed.[53] LeTurdu, however, seems not to have asked Bettelheim for medical care of the patient.[54] On July 1, 1848, Mathieu Adnet died at the age of thirty-five. On the day of his funeral, the letters of condolence were sent from the Regent of the kingdom and the mayors of Naha and Shuri. Three officials were sent to join the ceremony.[55] Bettelheim of course attended it. In the next month, a French corvette called at Okinawa at last. Shuri cordially requested the captain to take LeTurdu from the island. The next day, August 27, the captain accepted the Ryukyuan petition without any refutation, taking away the priest.[56]

---

[51] Report of the State Councillors to the Clan Councillors of Satsuma, July 23, 1847, Ishin Shiryō, sec. I, v. VI, p. 359.

[52] The Claims of Loo Choo, sec. entitled "Letter XIII," p. 22.

[53] Shimazu Nariakira Monjo Kankōkai, op. cit., v. I, p. 113.

[54] B.J. Bettelheim, An Appeal for the LNM, p. 9.

Now, the Bettelheims became the only Europeans on the island from that time to the arrival of the Moretons in 1854. Although the French and the English did not have close association with each other, the entire evacuation of the former must have caused the latter's loneliness and reenforced his petition for the dispatch of other missionaries from the LNM.

The French left the island without much achievement. How about the British? His case seems to have been different from the French. The fruit of Bettelheim's missionary work up to that time, August,1848, was five natives whom he raised "to confess and adore Jesus the crucified and glorified . . . ."[57] Prior to that time, he had several natives who showed great interest in Christianity. These people, mostly his servants and guards, were removed from the temple as soon as the authorities found them interested in the foreign religion. This policy, of course, never ceased during his stay, but Bettelheim also did not give up his preaching to these people.

---

[55] Cary, A History of Christianity in Japan; Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox Mission, pp. 269-70.

[56] Letter of Heir Apparent of the Ryukyu Kingdom, Shang, to the Provincial Treasurer of Fukien, China, Sept. 4, 1848, Li Tai Pao An [Precious Records of Successive Generations], separate volume, Liu Ch'u Wang Fu [Royal Office of Ryukyu], comp., no pagination. Cited hereafter as Li Tai Pao An.

While his market preaching was gradually proving a failure after the state funeral, he sought for an alternative. As stated above, he commenced house-to-house visits. Besides native houses, he visited public buildings. Guardhouses which were built to prevent the people from visiting the foreign priest became, ironically, Bettelheim's next target! Guards were approached adroitly by the missionary. One way to approach them must have been the offer of medical care. Without accepting payment, he asked them to hear the teachings of Christianity. In the Eastern world, it was hard for the people to decline the request from a person to whom the former owed on (a debt of gratitude) such as receiving free medicine.[58] The peculiar mores had caused them frequently to mix up public and private matters. We do not know whether Bettelheim was acquainted with such mores. But it is noticeable that the most serious inquirers or believers in the new religion came from guards and servants, who were government employees.

---

[57] B.J. Bettelheim, An Appeal for the LNM, p. 3.

From the latter part of the year 1848, it became a rule for Bettelheim to drop in to the guardhouses after his street preaching every Sunday. His patient visits there produced promising results. On July 25, for example, he recorded a delightful event of recent occurrence: "I hear to-day, for the first time, a plain satisfactory confession of faith in Jesus Christ from the mouths of two natives, one of the literati, and the other a peasant; and there is full indication of one more imbued with the faith . . . ."[59]

To his further surprise and gratification, the chief guard asked him to write something about the

---

[58] For further discussion of on, see the classical study on the subject, Ruth Benedict's Chrysanthemum and the Sword: Pattern of Japanese Culture, Boston, 1946, pp. 98-119.

[59] LNM, ed., Report of the LNM for 1848, p. 6.

Christian faith on a sheet of European paper, which the man intended to hang up in his own room. At first Bettelheim hesitated to comply as such things were banned by the authorities. At the guard's repeated request for two days, he decided to write it for him. As he recorded:

> In the central square, in prominent large letters, is read, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; in a smaller square . . . of the Creed; further four largish . . . squares contains [*sic.*] the Lord's Prayer, directions for spiritual worship, the doing away with all images, abstaining from sacrificing to the *kamis* [the native deities], or the dead, confession of sin, faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, the necessity of a total change of heart worked by the Holy Spirit, and the reading of God's Word.[60]

Here we should notice what he regarded the evils of the native religion -- iconolatry, and the sacrifice to the deities and the dead. The Christian memorial was fixed on a board neatly and handed over to the chief guard with precaution against official investigation. The delighted man then taught his own men some elements of Christianity, namely, the crucifixion, resurrection, and ascension of Christ into heaven. Surprisingly enough, an errand messenger had already an interest in the faith, telling Bettelheim that "he prayed, and would pray daily to Jesus."[61] The errand messenger was the elder brother of a former guard, who attended Bettelheim's Sunday discourses often and became a convert. Though Bettelheim reported their names -- those of the chief guard, the errand messenger, and his younger brother, he asked the LNM not to publish the names on account of possible leakage of their faith to the Ryukyuan authorities.[62]

---

[60] *Ibid*.

The above events were not entirely isolated, because his diary and reports indicate other similar ones in the later period. One day, not long after the above events, Bettelheim was asked to deliver a discourse by six men in the guardhouse on his way home from street preaching. With great joy, he conducted a reading of chapter ten of Luke, fully explaining Revelation and the concept of original sin. On another occasion, the missionary was cheered to hear of their declaration that "Jusu de biru (Jesus is the true God)." in answer to his question: "Who is the true God?"[63] He thus confidently reported to the LNM that "Several Loo-Chooans, of the very guardians before our door, confess the Lord Jesus with their mouth . . . ."[64] Bettelheim was able to give discourses to the same guards regularly for about ten months.

---

[61] Ibid.

[62] Ibid., p. 8

[63] Ibid., pp.8-9.

It is hard to explain the contradictory behavior of the guards whose duty was to prevent the foreigner from propagation. On is one way to explain their inconsistency. Another explanation may lie in the fact that the anti-Christian policy had been enforced by the merciless ruler, Satsuma, not by their own initiative. The islanders did not abide by the law with much enthusiasm. In addition, Satsuma's rule over the Ryukyuans was indirect, so that the policy from Satsuma could not always be carried out faithfully by the latter, especially by the lower officials.

Another possible explanation of the regular attendance of guards to Bettelheim's discourses is that they must have been obliged to do so. Bettelheim was a man of strong will. As has been mentioned, he expelled interpreters from their post in the temple because of their unwillingness to teach him the kana.[65] Also, he often visited native houses forcibly, because gates and doors were closed as soon as he appeared on the street.[66] About the same time, he had a quarrel with guards. On June 5, 1847, Bettelheim asked them to remove the guardhouses in front of the temple, because they interfered with his contact with people.[67] Without listening to their excuse, the angered missionary tried to pull down the hut by using a knife. Shuri, of course, protested against his act. A compromise was reached between the authorities and Bettelheim to establish a guardhouse inside the gate of the temple. Bettelheim discovered that the new guardhouse was located so closely to his residence that guards could watch his movements minutely. Consequently, it was again removed to the original site at his request.[68] Therefore, having known his temper, guards may have attended his Sunday sermons lest they incur his displeasure by declining his request.

---

[64] B.J. Bettelheim, An Appeal for the LNM, pp. 6-7.

[65] See p. 108.

At any rate, guards attended his discourses regularly until the removal of the chief guard and his brother in April, 1849. Bettelheim, disheartened, recorded the event on April 15:

---

[66] See pp. 148-50.

[67] Report of the State Councillors to the Clan Councillors of Satsuma, June 20, 1848, _Hyōjōjo Shorui_.

[68] _Ibid_.

> M___ [the chief guard] is now never to be seen in the Stchibang [the guardhouse], nor yet his brother. He was long under suspicion. I fear he may have made too free use of the last dollar I gave him, and may have been compelled to confess. If the written sheet he requested and obtained from me was found with him, I know not what his fate may be.[69]

The discourse of the day at the guardhouse was not entirely pleasant for Bettelheim, because other guards seemed to attend it half-heartedly. Two earnest inquirers also showed some sort of hesitation during the discourse.

The missionary thus lamented that "whenever any fruit of our missionary labours makes its appearance, the iniquitous hand of a Japanese Government should crush it or nip it off."[70] Here we see Bettelheim knew then the real offender against Christianity -- not the government of the Ryukyus but a government in Japan proper. His discourse at guardhouses continued as before even after this event.

Another form of door-to-door visits, commenced from mid-1848, was to visit schools in Naha and Tomari. The kingdom used to send students to China for study since 1392. The first school, an academy type, was established in 1718 in Kume, the community of Chinese descendants. Then, a national college and three academies were instituted in 1798. Elementary schools, however, were opened relatively later. In 1835, Shuri ordered the establishment of schools in the major towns. Shuri established fourteen elementary schools; Naha, six; and Tomari, one.

---

[69] LNM, ed., Report of the LNM for 1948-50, 1850, pp. 5-6.

[70] Ibid.

The schools which Bettelheim often visited were the latter type, having a short history when Bettelheim arrived at the island. He began to visit two schools -- one at Wakasa-machi (one district of Naha) and another at Tomari -- regularly after mid-May.[71] The reason of his frequent visits there was that school buildings served not only for class rooms but also for other official business like the administration of educational matters, public morals, and general affairs of the district. In addition, they usually opened the doors, even though patrolmen announced the arrival of Bettelheim. At the schools, he used to shout for the worship of God and distributed tracts, spending an hour or two each Sabbath day to instruct those who would venture to listen to him.[72]

---

[71] Report of Fukumura *pēchin* to Onaga *pēchin*, May 15, 1848, *Hyōjōjo Shorui*.

[72] Report of Onga *pēchin* to Kiyan *pēchin*, June 11, 1848, *ibid*., and LNM, ed., *Report of the LNM for 1848*, p. 6.

His visit to government buildings often caused confusion to official meetings when they were in session. Bettelheim recorded the number of the attendants there, varying from five to thirty, and even as many as fifty persons. Sometimes, "the whole congregation jumped out of the windows, or over the wall into the neighboring houses,"[73] at the unexpected visit of the missionary.

Usually, the officials disappeared from buildings as soon as they heard the news of his coming. In case of school children, they did not evacuate as quickly as adults. Thus, the missionary had many chances to talk to students. On August 29, 1848, for instance, he took the Book of Mencius to the school at Wakasamachi. To the students, he expounded that if they did not learn the teachings of Jesus, they were not the true disciples of Mencius, who instructed one to study the things of foreign countries. Bettelheim then urged students to worship Christ and left.[74]

According to Professor Yoshida's statistics, Bettelheim, paying special attention to the schools, distributed about 12.7% of the total tracts (565 tracts thrown between February 13 and September 24, 1848) to the two schools at Wakasa-machi and Tomari. Especially, the school at Wakasa-machi was visited fifteen times and was thrown sixty-one tracts, perhaps because of its closeness to Bettelheim's residence. The school at Tomari was called on eight times and received thirty tracts during the same period.[75]

---

[73] "Letter from B.J. Bettelheim," The Chinese Repository, p. 61

[74] Report of the State Councillors to the Clan Councillors of Satsuma, Nov. 22, 1848, Hyōjōjo Shorui.

Wakasa-machi school was his favorite place to visit weekly. "In this office," he reported, "for several months I had a few books hung upon a nail, which I always found on the spot on my arrival; in a similar way, I held some maps there stuck up on the wall."[76] At Tomari school, he visited regularly and met there "very many children."

However, students attending his discourses gradually decreased. One year after commencing to visit schools, the missionary could find none except two guards at Tomari school.[77] The situation at Wakasa-machi school was almost the same, though he had more attendance and visited there for a longer time than Tomari school. The results of his visits at Wakasa-machi school were not so promising even after one year and a half since mid-1848. The missionary thus frankly wrote: "But usually I have been and still am pretty well received, only that at present I cannot get out one single answer from them to my questions."[78] Despite his enormous effort made for the visits to schools, Bettelheim could not obtain the anticipated result as that of guardhouses.

---

[75] Yoshida, Op. cit., part 2, p. 22.

[76] "Letter from B.J. Bettelheim," The Chinese Repository, p. 61.

[77] Ibid., p. 62.

The greatest joy for the Bettelheims in those hard days was the birth of his second daughter on December 8, 1848. Since she was born at her father's missionary place, she was named after the island -- Lucy Fanny Loochoo Bettelheim. She must have been the first European born on the island. The family became bigger, consisting of the couple and the two daughters and a son.

Here it is necessary to mention a word about the life of the family on the island. One cannot but be moved to sympathy when one sees their sufferings with the missionary there for more than eight years. As has been stated in the second chapter, the Bettelheims had to face the harsh policy of Shuri against the residence of foreigners. Their proposal to hire some maids was adroitly declined by the authorities. Later, some servants were assigned to the family but were not so faithful to the foreign master.

---

[78] *Ibid.*, p. 61.

In addition, Shuri dispatched purveyors to the Bettelheims in order to shut out even Mrs. Bettelheim's contact with the market. Purveyors were not trustworthy for the family as Bettelheim's correspondence showed. We should remember here that the whole system of surveillance was aimed by the authorities to compel the unwelcome foreigners to leave the kingdom.

In July,1847, for example, Liu, the Chinese interpreter, complained to the authorities about the insincerity of a servant, stating that all food he prepared for the family was not so fresh that it might be hazardous for health. Liu, thus, asked Shuri to replace the lazy man with another sincere one.[79] The outcome of the appeal is not certain. However, it was the time when the authorities and Bettelheim had the controversy over the theft of six hundred dollars, engendering a hard feeling toward each other. Some of the servants were strongly suspected by the missionary, so that they might have served the family half-heartedly and caused minor conflict between both parties.

---

[79] Letter of Liu, wrote for Bettelheim, to the Ryukyu government, n.d. (c. between July 10 and 22, 1847), Lin Ch'i Chi, pp. 47-48.

In the next month, August, 1847, Liu presented another complaint to the authorities. One servant took one day off but did not come back for more than ten days. Liu thus asked Shuri to punish the wrongful man.[80] Some days later, another servant ran away, and Liu wrote still another complaint to the authorities.[81] We are not sure how Shuri disposed of these complaints from Liu. Each time servants left their work at their pleasure, Mrs. Bettelheim must have found difficulty in handling household cares.

About three months before the birth of the daughter, Bettelheim asked the authorities for permission to hire a maid for his wife but the request was turned down. On August 31, 1848, Bettelheim pleaded for his justifiable demand to hire the maid by showing the articles in the treaties of Nanking, Wanghia, and Whampoa,[82] which stipulated the right of the foreign merchant to engage his own compradors and servants without restraint. To his attempt to break down the obstacle against the employment of a maid, Shuri's response was cool. The family could never hire a maid for the entire period of his stay there. The official prohibition against the missionary's contact with the natives was applied to the rest of his family. In an appeal to the LNM, Bettelheim thus wrote: "My dear wife has not yet been permitted to hear the voice of, or even to see one of her own sex, except in the public markets, and my children are only permitted to hear from afar, the merry voice of playing boys."[83]

---

[80] Letter of the same to the same, n.d. (c. between Aug. 23-24, 1847), ibid., pp. 73-74.

[81] Letter of the same to the same, n.d. (c. between Aug. 24-28, 1847), ibid., pp. 81-82.

Now, we can see how the wife and children lived in seclusion. In addition to the isolated life on the island, their contact with the rest of the world, though for a while, ceased because of the isolated position of the island. It was especially after the state funeral incident that in England he was reported killed by the natives.[84] Though it was corrected as an erroneous news two months later, December, 1848, the LNM had to spend a period of great disquiet and suspense about the future of the mission and the wife and children of the missionary until they received letters from Bettelheim directly.[85] While the men related to the LNM in England were rejoicing over their missionary's safety, on the opposite side of the globe the family was celebrating the birth of Lucy Fanny Loochoo.

---

[82] Letter of Bettelheim to the tsung li kuan, Aug. 31, 1848, Shimazuke Kokuji Osho Shiryo / numerous Documents relating to the State Affairs of the Shimazu Family_7, v. 16, cited in Yoshida, op. cit., part 3, p. 14.

[83] B.J. Bettelheim, An Appeal for the LNM, p. 7.

Mrs. Bettelheim served her husband as a good assistant in missionary work and medical care. The harshness of Bettelheim as a man of self-reliance was often balanced by the tenderness of Mrs. Bettelheim as a woman from a good family. From the missionary's diary, one can see many instances of the nice combination of the couple. She always accompanied her husband in missionary tours in order to ease the fear of the native women and children of the bearded, bespectacled, foreign priest. Since the English Free

---

[84] Article of Dec., 1848, Notes of Articles and Letters in the Achill Missionary Herald, in the Bull Collection.

[85] The Claims of Loo Choo, sec. entitled "Appendix," Nov. 2, 1849.

Hospital was hardly accessible to the natives, the couple became a walking dispensary. Mrs. Bettelheim served the doctor by carrying the medicine box and worked as a nurse.

To get easy access to the natives was a constant problem for the missionary to solve on the island. One way was the distribution of necessary things among the islanders. Food, medicine, and money, besides tracts, were given to the poor. Mrs. Bettelheim mostly prepared such things. On November 20, 1848, for instance, a Ryukyuan document recorded: "The Englishman entered a native house in Naha. When the landlord, men, and an old man met [him], [he] offered [them] a pig's lingua, three tangerines, and one monme (about 0.13 ounces) of tea. Though [they] declined, [he] left these, turning a deaf ear to their refusal."[86]

Another thing which Mrs. Bettelheim prepared and the natives welcomed was cakes. He wrote to the Chinese Repository: "To the rolls of tracts . . . , I added a good bagful of cakes, easily baked in an oven constructed with my own hand . . . , and those who refused a tract, were frequently less rigorous towards my cakes, and perhaps were attracted a little by the gorgeous flowery chintz bag which held them."[87] The distribution of cakes certainly attracted both children and adults: Children for themselves, and adults for their children. Whenever the couple went out, the natives followed or surrounded them to receive some cakes and then listened to what the missionary preached. Therefore, each time the missionary went out, Mrs. Bettelheim did not forget to prepare cakes besides tracts, medicines, and other alms for the husband.

---

[86] Report of the State Councillors to the Clan Councillors of Satsuma, Nov. 20, 1848, Hyōjōjo Shorui.

It is doubtful whether Bettelheim could come in contact with so many natives without Mrs. Bettelheim's help in this way. She was the indispensable assistant for her husband's outdoor activities, and what is more, a good helper for his indoor work. As has been stated, it was she who contributed much to Bettelheim's translation work. Though she did not translate the Bible, Mrs. Bettelheim made the fair copies of it, which needed many revisions because of the constant and, sometimes, misleading constructions done by the half-hearted interpreters.

The distribution of voluminous tracts, though not so effective, could be continued by her able hands in copying original tracts brought from China. The missionary could have had constant consolation from his wife whenever he suffered from the "heart-breaking" failures due to Shuri's interference with his missionary work. In short, without her help, if not entirely, Bettelheim must not have been able to stay there for more than a few years under the harsh conditions created by Shuri, which did in fact force the Catholics to evacuate the island.

---

[87] "Letter from B.J. Bettelheim," The Chinese Repository, p. 47.

The year 1848 ended with a happy event, the birth of a daughter, and the new year became an eventful one, internally and externally, compared to the previous years. The first notable event of the year was the wreck of the English bark Elizabeth and Henry in February and the arrival of H.M.S. Mariner in March. On February 10, 1849, the Elizabeth and Henry, having twenty-one crew members on board, ran on a rock off Kume-jima, an island to the west of Okinawa. Fortunately, two American whalers passed by and took Captain Clark and one crew of the Elizabeth and Henry to Okinawa.[88] Having arrived at Naha on February 12, they solicited succor for the rest of crew and cargo from the Ryukyuan authorities.

---

[88] Letter of Heir Apparent of the Ryukyu Kingdom, Shang, to the Provincial Treasurer of Fukien, Sept. 20, 1849, Li Tai Pao An.

However, despite the good offices of Bettelheim, they could not secure help from the authorities.[89] Consequently, the captain decided to go to China for help from his own government, asking Shuri to take care of the wrecked ship until the arrival of a British rescue ship. Upon reaching the agreement, the American whalers returned to the wrecked ship and took the crew to China, leaving six men on board the ship to watch the cargo. Shuri ordered the islanders to take care of the Englishmen carefully; the officials, including Ichirazichi, were dispatched to the island to supervise the problem.

At Shanghai, Captain Clark appealed to the British Consul, Rutherford Alcock, for succor to bring away the crew and cargo from the Ryukyus. H.M.S. Mariner (Captain Matheson) was sent to the island for the purpose, accompanied by Vice-Consul Robertson. The Mariner reached the island on March 2. The next day, Ichirazichi, disguised as governor of Kume-jima, and other officials from Shuri met the English and then opened negotiations about the removal of the Bettelheims from Okinawa.

Captain Matheson not only gave an indefinite answer but also revealed his intention to go to Naha in order to express his gratification about Shuri's care of the wrecked ship. The frightened Ichirazichi cried:

---

[89] "Letter from B.J. Bettelheim," The Chinese Repository, p. 63.

> No! no! no! You tell me send for Bettle [Bettelheim] . . . . He come, you take him away, very good, that very good. Thank you, no good at all; you telle me, thank you. I telle the king, thank you. No good you go to Nappa-Kiang [Naha], you go home; that good, very good.[90]

Ichirazichi's effort to prevent the Mariner from calling at Naha failed, however.

The ship took the crew and cargo on board, proceeding to Okinawa on March 7. The next day, Bettelheim met Captain Matheson and Vice-Consul Robertson on board. Bettelheim was so pleased to meet his own country's officials, because Shuri had told him the Mariner would not touch at Naha.[91] The English sailors paid a visit to the Bettelheims. The following day, March 9, Shuri dispatched the officials to Captain Matheson to petition for the removal of the Bettelheims and the Chinese interpreter.[92] The officials represented themselves as the Regent of the kingdom and the governor of Naha. The petition from Shuri was ironically interpreted by Bettelheim himself. Shuri appealed to the captain:

---

[90] Alfred Laurence Holloran, Wae Yang Jin: Eight Months' Journal Kept on Board of Her Majesty's Sloops of War during Visits to Loochoo, Japan and Pootoo, London, 1856, p. 12.

[91] "Letter from B.J. Bettelheim," The Chinese Repository, p. 63.

> We your slaves /the self-depreciative term used by the subject especially to the emperor/ have a great petition to ask of you . . . . Some missionaries have come among us, and we have received them kindly, although it is against the ancient law of high antiquity for any stranger to land in our very poor country. We have to provide them with food, and it is a great burden. When a French ship was here, we told them so, and they took their country missionaries away. But the English missionary still remains to the great inconvenience of our people and government. The whole time of our labourers is taken up with providing subsistence for the missionary, instead of working for their families; and the magistrates cannot attend to proper and wise government while they have to look after his welfare. This is not a good climate either, and he may get sick; therefore, for his health's sake, and our nation's comfort, we humbly chin-chin /petition/ you and pray you to take him away.[93]

To this petition, Captain Matheson questioned the Ryukyuan officials whether the Bettelheims made any undesirable acts against the natives. The Ryukyuan reply was no but that they wished the return of the Bettelheims for the sake of the family, not for that of the natives. Then, Captain Matheson refuted the petition on the four points: 1) England, which receives any lawful foreigners, would expect the reciprocal act from the kingdom of the Ryukyus; 2) the family, having the means of self support, should be given free access to market and other places in order to ease the poverty of the country and to increase their health by exercise; 3) the local officials had better mind their own business more than their care about the Bettelheims except in an emergency; and 4) as to the family's health, they would take care of it by themselves and the captain had no apprehension about the effect of the climate on the family's health.[94]

---

[92] Letter of Heir Apparent of the Ryukyu kingdom, Shang, to the Provincial Treasurer of Fukien, Sept. 20, 1849, Li Tai Pao An.

[93] The text cited in Holloran, op. cit., pp. 27-28, and in "Letter from Bettelheim," The Chinese Repository, p. 65.

The disappointment of the Ryukyuans was great, since they thought the Mariner might take the Bettelheims from the island. On the same occasion, the Ryukyuans entrusted Captain Matheson with another petition of the same content as that to the captain for the British government. Great was Bettelheim's disappointment, too. The missionary expected great pressure of the British warship on the kingdom in the way that might have produced better conditions for his missionary work there. The missionary could not be satisfied with the gentle manner of Captain Matheson toward the Ryukyuan authorities. The captain not only negotiated gently with the Ryukyuans but also offered the missionary passage to China to the latter's great disappointment. Bettelheim wrote a petition to Parliament, appealing for occasional visits of naval vessels to Okinawa to protect the family.[95] On March 10, the Mariner set sail for China, taking only Liu, the Chinese interpreter,[96] who had been with the Bettelheims for nearly three years.

---

[94] Holloran, op. cit., pp. 28-29.

Liu's departure was a shock to the missionary, because he was the latter's language teacher as well as companion. Bettelheim regarded Liu as a most faithful servant.[97] However, Ryukyuan documents reveal a contradictory picture of the Chinese. Liu accepted the job offered by Bettelheim at the wages of "a mere coolie's salary" because of Liu's poverty. Facing the rigid system of surveillance on the island, he had already expressed his intention to return home within a year of his arrival,[98] though Bettelheim wrote his friend that Liu "during three whole years never once expressed a thought of leaving [the island]."[99] According to the observation of the authorities, the Chinese was genial, worrying about his intimate contacts with the natives lest he might hurt the feelings of his new master.[100]

---

[95] Foreign Office, General Correspondence, China (F.O. 17: hereafter cited as F.O. China Corres.), vol. 155, Bonham to For. Off., No. 58, May 4, 1849, encl. Robertson's report of Mar. 19, 1849, quoted in W.G. Beasley, Great Britain and the Opening of Japan, 1834-1858, London, 1851, p. 78.

[96] Letter of Heir Apparent of the Ryukyu kingdom, Shang, to the Provincial Treasurer of Fukien, Sept. 20, 1849, Li Tai Poa An.

[97] B.J. Bettelheim, Nine Years in Loo Choo, p. 82.

After the state funeral incident, persecution against the missionaries was likely extended even to the Chinese. One day, a stone was thrown at his head. As a Chinese subject, Liu strongly protested to Shuri against the assault.[101] From that time on, he seems to have been estranged from his master secretly. In September, 1848, for example, Liu secretly advised Ichirazichi that the authorities had better return tracts in bulk before the departure of a tribute ship for China. Perceiving the unwillingness of the natives to worship Christianity, the missionary, according to Liu, would trust the tribute ship with his letter to the English authorities in China and leave Okinawa earlier than expected.[102] By that time, the tracts which Bettelheim distributed were taken into the custody of the authorities all together. Since Shuri did not decide when they should return these to the missionary, Liu's advice sounded proper. On September 22, as has been stated, five hundred and seventy-six tracts were returned to the missionary. Though the distribution of tracts declined gradually the missionary did not show any intention to leave the country. Thus, Liu's advise to Shuri was defective.

---

[98] Report of the zaiban bugyō to the home government, May 26, 1846, Ishin Shiryō, sec. I, v. I, p. 373.

[99] Bettelheim to E.H. Moreton, Aug. 16, 1853, Memo of Bettelheim's letters, in possession of Mrs. Hampton.

[100] Report of the zaiban bugyō to the home government, May 26, 1846, Ishin Shiryō, sec. I, v. I, p. 374.

[101] Liu to the authorities, n.d. (c. between Nov. 4 and 24, 1847), Lin Ch'i Chi, pp. 93-94.

Another treacherous act was committed just before his departure from the island. When the authorities sent men to take custody of the wrecked _Elizabeth and Henry_ in February 15, 1849, Bettelheim entrusted the officials with a paper bag for the English sailors. However, the officials were informed by Liu that since his master had intentions to propagate Christianity among the islanders of Kume-jima, the bag might contain something serving Bettelheim's purpose.[103] Thus, when the officials handed over the paper bag to the English sailors at Kume-jima, the former carefully inquired of the sailors about the contents of the bag. In the bag, they found about a dozen tracts with Bettelheim's letter, which asked the sailors to distribute these among the islanders. Of course, the officials strictly forbade the sailors to carry out the missionary's instructions.[104] Thus, Bettelheim's intention to extend his missionary work beyond the island of Okinawa came to naught owing to Liu's betrayal.

---

[102] Report of the State Councillors to the Clan Councillors of Satsuma, Nov. 22, 1848, _Hyōjōjo Shorui_.

Just before his departure, Shuri secretly granted Liu fifty English coins, which the authorities had received from Bettelheim as the paying for their living necessities. On the occasion, Liu again advised Ichirazichi: "After my departure, whatever the Englishman says, you have nothing to be afraid from him. Sometimes, at your own discretion, you had better scold him."[105] This was the true picture of the so-called "most faithful servant" in whom the missionary had put faith. Although Liu was not a faithful servant in the end, one should not forget the fact that without his help Bettelheim's missionary work and learning of Chinese would have been difficult under the unfavorable atmosphere created by the officials. After March, 1849, the missionary had to face the same, sometimes more difficult, situations without any assistance except that of his wife.

---

[103] Letter of Toyama _satonushi-pēchin_ and Onaga _satonushi-pēchin_ to Kiyan _pēchin_, Feb. 15, 1849, _ibid_.

[104] Letter of the same to the _sashi-no soba_ [Royal Supervisor of Foreign Affairs], Feb. 19, 1849, _ibid_.

2. Peking-London-Shuri Relations

The visit of the Mariner did not give complete satisfaction to Bettelheim, as stated before, but it was not totally insignificant. It certainly became the turning point in changing the attitude of the British government toward Bettelheim gradually, if not entirely as the missionary expected. It is therefore proper to discuss international relations in regard to Bettelheim.

In the previous chapter, we have already mentioned the relations between the kingdom on the one hand and the Satsuma Clan and the Bakufu on the other hand. Occasionally, reports from Shuri about the foreigners were sent to Edo through Kagoshima. The basic policy of the Bakufu toward the foreigners in the Ryukyus did not change during the period treated in this chapter -- trade between the kingdom and France would be permissible in an unavoidable case, but the propagation of Christianity there was absolutely banned. The policy was made known to Shuri by Satsuma in 1846 and 1847.[106] In contrast with the progressive-minded Shimazu Nariakira who developed the above policy, Shuri had not the slightest intention of opening trade with France.

---

[105] Letter of Onga pēchin to Kiyan pēchin, Mar. 9, 1849, ibid.

Shuri was afraid of trade with France, because it might cause the leakage of Satsuma-Ryukyuan relations and eventually lead to trouble with the Celestial Empire about the sincerity of the Ryukyu Kingdom as a tribute state. Fortunately for the leaders of the kingdom, France did not press Shuri to open trade after their visit in 1846, until Commodore Perry's compact with the kingdom in 1854.

At any rate, to get rid of the foreigners from the island became a matter of great concern for Shuri.

---

[106] See p. 53.

On the island, the authorities created unbearable living conditions for foreigners to make them leave the country at their own will. Externally, Shuri asked Edo and Kagoshima for help. Having no diplomatic relations with England and France, neither Edo nor Kagoshima could contribute much to Shuri's immediate objective. As a last resort, Shuri decided to appeal to the Celestial Empire which, unlike Japan, had diplomatic relations with England and France.

The first appeal of this sort was sent to China in the second year of Kōka(February 7, 1845 - January 26, 1846). The appeal concerned the removal of Father Forcade and Catechist Ko from the island. By some unknown accident at sea, the appeal did not reach China.[107] The arrival of the Bettelheims, LeTurdu, and Adnet in 1846 caused more trouble to Shuri than before, since the two groups of foreigners represented two nations, England and France. Especially, England was feared more than France because of the frequent visits of British ships after the Opium War,[108] though

---

[107] Report of the State Councillors to the Clan Councillor of Satsuma, Zusho, July 23, 1847, Ishin Shiryō, sec. I, v. VI, p. 80.

[108] Report of the zaiban bugyō to the home government, May 10, 1846, ibid., sec. I, v. I, pp. 377-78.

France was actually more aggressive in the Ryukyus.

Therefore, Shuri decided to send a mission to China to secure the immediate removal of the foreigners through diplomatic channels between China and the West. The plan to send the mission had been carefully discussed by August 25, 1846. On that day, it was presented to the zaiban bugyō for the approval of Satsuma.[109] Owing to the importance of the subject, the mission was headed by a higher-ranking official than the customary missions to China, giving it unusual prominence. On October 3, a long petition was prepared by the king for the Provincial Treasurer of Fukien, who acted as liaison officer between Peking and Shuri. It reported all the facts concerning foreign visitors since Bettelheim's arrival and Shuri's treatment of them. It explained that it was burdensome to take care of the unexpected foreigners for a poor country like the Ryukyus, which had always acquired the necessary commodities only from China as a tribute state. Then, Shuri asked the imperial favor "to have England take away the Bettelheims to their country on the one hand, and to have France withdraw their demand of friendship and trade with the Ryukyus and take away the French priests by their own country's ship on the other."[110]

---

[109] Petition of the State Councillors to the Clan Council of Satsuma, Aug. 27, 1846, ibid., sec. I, v. III, pp. 477-82.

Before their departure for China, the Ryukyuan mission visited the residence of the zaiban bugyō, receiving further detailed instructions about negotiations with the Chinese officials. Considering the waning influence of the Ch'ing dynasty since the Opium War, the Satsuma commissioner instructed the mission that their task should be conducted secretly and adroitly in such a way as to lead to the removal of the foreigners peacefully.[111] The dispatch of the mission was cautiously examined at Kagoshima, too. The Ryukyuan representative at Kagoshima was instructed that scrupulous care should be paid to keep the dispatch of the mission from the English and the French on Okinawa.[112]

However, around this time, the powerful Clan Councillor Zusho, then at Edo, sent a letter to other

---

[110] The text in ibid., pp. 486-92.

[111] Report of the zaiban bugyō to the home government, Oct. 22, 1846, ibid., sec. I, V. III, pp. 501-2.

[112] Letter from Izena pēchin to Wakugawa pēchin, Oct. 22, ibid., sec. I, v. III, p. 499.

Councillors, expressing his opinion against the mission. Pointing out the waning power of China in the recent years, he doubted the wisdom of sending the mission, which might invite foreign countries to take advantage of China's weakness and eventually cause more trouble for the kingdom. Therefore, he advised the postponement of the mission until a more suitable occasion.[113] His letter however reached Kagoshima too late to stop the mission.

The Ryukyuan mission started from Naha on November 18 and arrived in Fukien, China, on the 23rd of the same month. Ten days later, December 3, they appeared before the office of the Provincial Treasurer,[114] presenting four papers concerning the English and French visitors between 1844 and 1846. These were then transmitted to the governor of Fukien and the governor general of Min-Che (the provinces of Fukien and Chekiang). The two officials examined the problem together. They found that in Fukien at that time there was no French ship which they could ask to remove of the French priests. In the case of England, the consul was stationed at Foochow. Since his official concern was only with trade at Foochow, the Chinese officials thought the British consul would not listen to their request for the removal of the Bettelheims by making one pretext or another. Therefore, they agreed that the matter would be properly handled by the imperial commissioner and governor general of Liang-kuang (the provinces of Kuangtung and Kuangsi), Ch'i-ying, who at Canton was the recognized authority in China on foreign relations.

---

[113] Letter from Zusho Shōzaemon to the Clan Councillors, Oct. 24, 1846, _ibid_., pp. 503-5.

[114] Report of the State Councillors to Zusho Shōzaemon, July 23, 1847, _ibid_., sec. I, v. VI, pp. 79-80.

Their memorial was sent to Peking. On January 5, 1847, imperial sanction was granted. The Grand Council, the highest administrative organ of the Ch'ing, was ordered to transmit the matter to the imperial commissioner at Canton.[115] A month later, another Ryukyuan mission, a regular tribute mission, arrived at Peking. On February 22, they also presented a petition for the removal of the foreigners before the Board of Rites, which took care of foreign envoys. In turn, the Board prepared a dispatch to the king of the Ryukyus, stating that the matter had been entrusted to the imperial commissioner at Canton.[116]

---

[115] Jan. 5, 1847, Memorial from Governor General of Min-Che, Liu Yün-ko, and Governor of Fukien, Chêng Tsu-ch'en, and Edict to the Grand Council, *Ch'ing Tai Ch'ou Pan I Wu Shih Mo* [The Management of Barbarian Affairs of the Ch'ing Dynasty from Beginning to End.], Peiping, 1930, the fourth line of the reverse side of page six to the first line of the reverse side of page ten of the seventy-seventh *chüan* (book), of the Tao-kuang (1836-50) series. Hereafter cited by the initial letters of the last four words of the Chinese title: *IWSM*. Following the Chinese book style, the citations will give series, *chüan* (book) number, page number obverse(a) or reverse(b), and line or column. Thus, the above citation will be cited: *IWSM*. TK 77; 6b, 4-10b, 1.

By this time, Ch'i-ying had begun negotiations with the representatives of the two nations at Canton. Ch'i-ying found that the French envoy Thomas de Lagrené had already returned home, and that Admiral Cécille had also left Canton. He therefore asked the representative of the French to transmit the Chinese request to Admiral Cécille, who was responsible for the settlement of the French priests on Okinawa. Then, Ch'i-ying informed the British Superintendent of Trade and Governor of Hongkong, Sir John Francis Davis, that China requested the removal of the Bettelheims and also the suspension of the dispatch of British ships to Okinawa for the sake of the tranquility of the kingdom.

While waiting for replies from the foreign representatives, Ch'i-ying wrote an advisory letter to the

---

[116] Dispatch from the Board of Rites to the king of the Ryukyus, Feb. 10, 1847, Ishin Shiryō, sec. I, v. III, p. 476.

Ryukyuan mission through the governor general of Min-Che, stating that the foreigners on Okinawa should be isolated from the natives in order to let them abandon the desire to stay on, thus avoiding any trouble.[117] Here, we see almost the same measure recommended by the imperial commissioner as that taken by the Ryukyuan authorities since the arrival of Father Forcade in 1844: simply to make the conditions unbearable for the foreigner's stay on the island and force them to leave eventually.

About twenty days later, Ch'i-ying received a reply from Davis. It stated:

> Dr. Bettelheim, having been sent to the Ryukyus, intends to do extensive medical care, so that it is inadvisable to prevent his work. Both the French and British warships proceed there to ensure their [French and British missionaries'] welfare. There is no need to doubt and be worried about it abruptly. If anyone obstructs the movement of the warships, [we] shall regard him as our enemy, and it thus not advisable to do so. Also, it said that the Ryukyus and vicinity were seized by the Japanese by force and became virtual dependencies of Japan. Therefore, they do not belong solely to the Celestial Dynasty (China).[118]

Faced with this strong posture of the British representative, Ch'i-ying seemed not to have assumed a firm attitude against it. Being virtually China's first foreign minister, his foreign policy was one of conciliation, adjustment, and realism.[119] Like Shimazu Nariakira, he ably analyzed the situations surrounding the Ryukyu kingdom. Since the kingdom was the poorest among tributary states, Ch'i-ying thought it unsuitable for an international trading post. The real purpose of the English and French, according to Ch'i-ying, seemed to have trade with Japan proper, which they regarded as wealthy. Since Japan proper was closed to Western peoples except the Dutch, Ch'i-ying conjectured that they made the Ryukyus as a stepping stone to Japan proper by sending warships and missionaries in order to prepare for the opportunity to open Japan proper. As the kingdom was located in the midst of the ocean, he thought it was not feasible to request Westerners not to go there, or that they would not accept the Chinese request as the British reply revealed. In addition, there were only a few foreign residents, namely, the Bettelheims and the French, on the island, and the number was nothing for the kingdom to be afraid of. Consequently, the imperial commissioner again recommended the measure which he had proposed previously -- to make them isolated and to force them to leave eventually.[120]

---

[117] Feb. 5, 1847, Memorial of Ch'i-ying, *IWSM*, TK 77; 13 a, 7 - b, 9.

[118] Feb. 24, 1847, Memorial of Ch'i-ying, *ibid.*, TK 77; 25b, 5 - 9.

---

[119] Earl Swisher, _China's Management of the American Barbarians, A Study of Sino-American Relations, 1841-1861, with Documents_, New Haven, 1953, p. 19.

A month later, Ch'i-ying received a promising reply from Admiral Cécille. The admiral reported to the home government that the Ryukyu Kingdom was not the rich country with which France could expect prosperous trade, and that as a tribute state of China it could not associate with other nations. Therefore, the admiral promised that upon receiving the reply from France, LeTurdu and Adnet should be taken from the island by a French ship which would convey the dispatch to the admiral within a year. The admiral's letter emphasized it as a solemn promise.[121] As mentioned before, the French priest was taken from the island the next year, only being too late for Adnet.

The Ryukyuan mission, still waiting at Fukien, heard the French promise to the imperial commissioner more than one month later, May 12. They were told that Ch'i-ying had not received the reply from the British official yet, thus disguising his failure to persuade Davis. Furthermore, the Chinese officials expressed an optimistic view that since the French had decided to evacuate the priests from the island, the British would certainly follow suit.[122] As far as the Ryukyuans were concerned, the outcome was satisfactory, if not immediate. On June 7, they received the official letters concerning Chinese negotiations with the French and English representatives, and joyfully set sail for Naha. All these events in regard to the mission were minutely reported to Kagoshima after they returned home safely.

---

[120] Feb. 24, 1847, Memorial of Ch'i-ying, IWSM, TK 77; 25 b, 9 - 26 b, 5.

[121] Mar. 26, 1847, Memorial of the same, IWSM, TK 77; 30 a, 10 - b, 7.

The removal of the foreigners from the island was one of the most difficult problems Shuri had in those days. In the case of the French, by mid-1848 Shuri had the prospect of their evacuation in the near future. However, there was no such prospect for the English. The difference between the French and the English attitude on the problem was great. The French priests were brought to Okinawa by the governmental agent, Admiral Cécille, who aimed to open Japan.

---

[122] Report of the State Councillors to the Clan Councillor Zusho, July 23, 1847, Ishin Shiryō, sec. I, v. VI, p. 81.

Bettelheim was sent to the island by a group of civilians without any governmental support. In addition, at that time, the British government did not pay so much attention to the opening of Japan, as Professor Beasley's study reveals.[123] Lord Palmerston was the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs from 1846 to 1851. The period in which Palmerston served the post covered the first five year period of Bettelheim's stay on Okinawa. As a statesman of the days of Little Englandism, Palmerston did not show deep interest even in China up to 1839, nor was he interested in Japan. The Opium War and its aftermath did not basically change his attitude toward Japan. Rather, he concentrated on the enforcement of existing rights acquired from China after 1842.

In addition, behind proposals for opening trade with Japan, there was no equivalent pressure group as the "old China hands" who pressed British policy toward China.[124] Besides, in those days the China Squadron of Great Britain remained smaller than those who were interested in the extension of British trade and influence to Japan expected. Therefore,

---

[123] W.G. Beasley, _op_. _cit_., p. 42.

[124] _Ibid_., pp. 48-49.

Bettelheim's expectation of strong governmental backing for his missionary work was hard to realize.

When the imperial commissioner, Ch'i-ying, asked for the removal of Bettelheim in February, 1847, Governor Davis flatly refused the Chinese request. Davis had once been interested in the opening of Japan but had to give up the plan because of insufficient strength of the China Squadron in 1846. He thus took a firm attitude toward the Chinese request, for he still had an interest in the affairs to the east of China. Although Davis reported to the home government about Bettelheim, Palmerston did not take any further step beyond what Davis did in February, 1847.[125]

Thus, in his "An Appeal for the Loo-Choo Naval Mission," Bettelheim especially requested governmental protection for their stay on the island by sending ships occasionally to look after them. He explained to the LNM regretfully that the French had been visited by no less than five frigates and one merchant brig, while he had none of the sort.[126] The LNM of course accepted Bettelheim's appeal and approached the Foreign office in order to demand protection for them.

---

[125] F.O. China Corres. vol. 121, For. Off. to Davis, No. 45, Mar. 25, 1847, cited in Beasley, op. cit., p. 77.

[126] Bettelheim, An Appeal for the LNM, Aug., 1848, pp. 8-9.

Meanwhile, Shuri repeatedly sent petitions for the removal of the Bettelheims and the French to Peking. In November, 1847, another petition was presented to the Provincial Treasurer of Fukien. Up to that time, there was no progress in negotiations between Ch'i-ying and Davis, so that the reply of the Provincial Treasurer to Shuri was brief. The Chinese official just wrote that the matter was still under negotiation at Canton.[127]

The death of Adnet and the evacuation of LeTurdu from the island in 1848 were reported to Peking as well as to Kagoshima. Especially the evacuation of LeTurdu was jubilantly received. Letters of thanks were sent to the Board of Rites in Peking and to the Provincial Treasurer of Fukien in September, 1848. Of course, Shuri did not forget to petition for the removal of the "troublesome" Bettelheims from Okinawa.[128] Upon receiving the Ryukyuan dispatches, the Celestial

---

[127] Provincial Treasurer of Fukien to the king of the Ryukyus, Shang, May 29, 1848, Li Tai Pao An.

[128] Heir Apparent of the Ryukyu Kingdom, Shang, to the Board of Rites, and the Provincial Treasurer, Sept. 4, 1848, ibid.

Empire was greatly delighted. She could save face, at least partly, as the patron of tributary states.

From then on the Chinese effort was concentrated on the removal of the Bettelheims and Liu. The governor general of Min-Che thus requested the new imperial commissioner, Hsü Kuang-chin, to negotiate with the new British Plenipotentiary, Sir Samuel George Bonham.[129] Hsü succeeded Ch'i-ying in February, 1848, and is generally known as the one who terminated "the era of good feeling" between the Chinese and foreigners created by Ch'i-ying. He followed a policy of non-intercourse with foreigners, which resulted in the gradual worsening of foreign relations.[130] Bonham succeeded Davis one month after Hsü's inauguaration. Being a cautious administrator, Bonham was inclined rather to watch over than actively promote the interests entrusted to his charge.[131] Unlike Davis, Bonham was indifferent to the opening of Japan. Therefore, the matter of Bettelheim's removal was to be handled by the two men whose inclinations were almost identical -- indifferent.

---

[129] Jan. 9, 1849, Memorial of the governor general of Min-Che, Liu Yün-ko, IWSM, IK 79; 29 b , 3 - 31 b, 1.

[130] E. Swisher, op. cit., p. 20.

[131] W.C. Costin, Great Britain and China, 1833-1860, London, 1937, p. 134.

Hsü received the dispatch from the governor general of Min-Che in the first month of the twenty-ninth year of Tao-kuang (Jan. 24 - Feb. 22, 1849). The imperial commissioner met Governor Bonham at Hu-men (also known as Bocca Tigris or the Bogue), a fort at the mouth of the Canton or Pearl River, Kwangtung. Hsü explained to Bonham that the poverty of the Ryukyus could not afford trade with England and other nations, and that the long settlement of the Bettelheims there had merely caused a scare and irritation among the natives. Thus, the immediate removal of the family and Liu from Okinawa was requested Bonham by Hsü.[132]

Bonham's reply reached Hsü on March 1, stating coldly:

> At present there is no ship in Ryukuan waters. Our fishing boats would not call at the island unless they lack food. Whenever [they] receive the wants, [the boats] move for fishing . . . . [but] for the past two years [they had] ceased [to call there] without reason. Therefore, it is sure that such ships had already left the island.[133]

---

[132] April 9, 1849, Memorial of the governor general of Liang-kwang, Hsü Kuang-chin, *IWSM*, TK 79; 42b, 2 - 43a, 1.

[133] Provincial Treasurer of Fukien to Heir Apparent of the Ryukyu Kingdom, Shang, June 7, 1849, *Li Tai Pao An*.

From the above letter, we can not see any of the positive tone expressed previously by Davis in the cause of British subjects.

Then came the event of the wreck of the Elizabeth and Henry and the dispatch of the Mariner to the Ryukyus. As mentioned before, Bettelheim was not satisfied with what Captain Matheson did on the island. He minimized the effect of the visit of the Mariner, stating: "How little we gain here by the intercessions of the Mariner was soon seen, for a passage across the river in the public ferry-boat was refused me, as heretofore, and still more unmistakably in another pelting at noonday, which I received before March ended, while addressing a few people in the streets . . . ."[134]

However, outside the island the state of things was improving gradually toward Bettelheim's wishes. Vice-Consul Robertson, who accompanied Captain Matheson to the island, reported his voyage to the island to the British government. Robertson proposed an indirect approach to the valuable trade of Japan -- to make Naha "the mart of Japan for foreign," as a "Neutral Ground." Robertson's optimistic idea was supported by Gützlaff, who knew Bettelheim well. However, Bonham, a man of caution, did not show equal enthusiasm, but the papers of Robertson and Gützlaff were included in Bonham's dispatch to the Foreign Office.[135]

---

[134] "Letter from B.J. Bettelheim," The Chinese Repository, p. 67.

While Bonham's dispatch was on the way to England, the Foreign Office learned of the visit of the Mariner to the island. The Admiralty was asked by the Foreign Office to arrange for occasional visits of men-of-war to the Ryukyus.[136] It was quite far from the strong governmental backing Bettelheim expected for his missionary work. But the British men-of-war occasionally visited the island to look after the lives and property of British subjects from then on. About this time, on the opposite side of the globe, Imperial Commissioner Hsü conveyed the will of Peking to Bonham that the Celestial Empire would not be pleased to see British men-of-war visit the Ryukyus.[137] Of course, Peking expressed the view without knowing the decision of the Foreign Office in London. It was merely a coincidence.

---

[135] F.O. China Corres., vol. 155, Bonham to For. Off., No. 58, May 4, 1849 and enclosed reports from Robertson and Gützlaff, cited in Beasley, op. cit., pp. 78-79.

[136] F.O. China Corres., vol. 162, For. Off. to Adty., June 23, 1849, cited in ibid., p. 79.

[137] "Journal of Occurrances," The Chinese Repository, v. XVIII, No. 6 (June, 1849), p. 316.

Bonham's dispatch reached London on July 24. The Foreign Office was moved by Robertson's optimistic view for the opening of an international trade port at Naha.[138] Palmerston decided to send a reply to the Ryukyu Kingdom, which had entrusted the request of the removal of the Bettelheims to Captain Matheson in March. First, Palmerston's letter expressed his government's thanks for the Ryukyuan help to British seamen. Then, it requested kind treatment for the Bettelheims by Shuri, stating that the doctor settled on the island to cure illness and to promote the health of all nation. Lastly, having explained the advantage of free trade, Palmerston proposed the opening of trade between his country and the Ryukyus. Several merchants, according to the letter, then were ready to go and settle at the Ryukyus for trade.[139] In this letter, we can not see any coercive tone toward the kingdom. It was gentle persuasion.

---

[138] W.G. Beasley, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

[139] Palmerston to the *tsung li ta ch'ên* [Prime Minister] of the Ryukyus, Shang Wu-chu, Aug. 10, 1849, *Liu Ying Wang Fu Wên* [Letters Exchanged between the Ryukyus and England] (Xeroxed manuscript), comp. by Kōshaku Shimazuke Henshūjo [Office of Compilation of the Duke Shimazus], Tokyo, 1921, no pagination. Hereafter cited as *Liu Ying Wang Fu Wên*.

The letter was transmitted to Bonham, who was entrusted to arrange for a warship to deliver it to the island, with instructions that he should show Bettelheim such attention as would "raise him in the estimation of the Loochoo authorities."[140] The cautious Bonham tried not to give Bettelheim the impression that this naval support could be used for his personal ends. By this time, Bettelheim had also sent another petition to the naval commander-in-chief of the China Squadron, requesting the dispatch of a man-of-war to look in on the family on the island. The senior officer of the squadron, Captain Massie, received Bettelheim's petition.[141] It was about the same time when Bonham received Palmerston's letter to the Ryukyus. Thus, Captain Massie chose H.M.S. Pilot (Captain Lyon) to convey the letter to the island and to look in on the Bettelheims.

The Pilot visited the island on December 20, 1849. The letter from Palmerston was handed to Shuri. The Ryukyuan reply was delayed more than one week. When it was finally presented to Captain Lyon, the

---

[140] F.O. China Corres., vol. 159, Bonham to For. Off., No. 168, Nov. 27, 1849, cited in W.G. Beasley, op. cit., p. 79.

[141] LNM, ed., Report of the LNM for 1849-50, p. 7.

British officer was greatly disappointed with the content. It stated how poor the kingdom was because of barren soil, insufficient grain production, scarcity of other products, and lack of valuable things such as gold, silver, copper, iron, silks, and satins.

Then, it explained the way in which the kingdom purchased her necessary commodities from China as a tribute state. Additional purchase was usually made at Tokara, an island belonging to Japan. The island of Tokara (or Takara) was a false reference denoting Satsuma to conceal Ryukyuan subjugation to Satsuma. Since Japan, to whom Tokara island belonged, was under the seclusion policy, the Ryukyus might have trouble with Japan, if trade was opened between England and the Ryukyus. The "trouble" meant that Japan would decline to sell the commodities which the Ryukyus needed. Thus, the British proposal for the opening of trade with the Ryukyus was cordially declined by Shuri.

Furthermore, to Captain Lyon's disappointment, Shuri requested the removal of the Bettelheims from the island. As the people of the kingdom were satisfied with the teachings of Confucius and Mencius, they were not interested in learning other teachings like Christianity. In the case of Western medicine, Shuri regarded it unsuitable for the islanders who accepted

Chinese medicine and were afraid to see the Western doctor. In addition, Bettelheim caused trouble among the people. As it stated, in part:

> Without listening to our warning, [Bettelheim] went out and intruded into people's houses for propagation and medical care. Against [Bettelheim's wishes,] [his actions] frightened the women and children out of their minds. Besides, the settlement of his family itself was a source of nuisance. We, officials as well as commoners, have no time for the pursuit of our occupation because of our entertainment of the family.[142]

This long reply concluded with a strong appeal for Great Britain's favor to take the family from the island in order to tranquilize the small country in one corner of the earth.

Upon receiving the reply, Captain Lyon had to leave the island without any success. However, he refused to take the family from Okinawa, leaving the word that there would be a British reply to the petition, and that he would return there six months later.[143]

---

[142] The tsung li ta ch'ên of the Ryukyus, Shang Kuo-tung, to Palmerston, Dec. 28, 1849, Liu Ying Wang Fu Wên.

[143] Letter of Shimazu Nariakira to Date Muneki, Lord of Uwajima, n.d., cited in Tokutomi Iichiro, Peri Torai izen no Keisei [The State of Affairs prior to the Coming of Perry], v. 30 of Kinsei Nihon Kokumin Shi [Modern Japanese History], Tokyo, 1934, pp. 415-16.

This time, too, Bettelheim minimized the effect of the visit of the Pilot on the improvement of the conditions of his stay there, for oppression by the authorities did not cease even after that time.[144] Meanwhile, Bonham received the Ryukyuan reply from Captain Lyon. When he forwarded it to London, he attached an unfavorable comment on Bettelheim, stating that Bettelheim would not be able "to advance the interests of commerce or to propagate the Christian Religion in any way whatever." He added that there was not any fear of threatening his safety, except such as might arise through his own lack of discretion.[145]

At any rate, by the end of 1849, Bettelheim had succeeded in moving the British government slowly toward his end -- to have strong governmental backing. However, as we shall see later, the British government did not give him further support beyond the protection of the lives and property of its subjects abroad. On the other hand, Shuri had its own problem: they could not get rid of the Bettelheims. The leaders of the island must have been in a state of constant despair. Since their real ruler, Satsuma, had no diplomatic relations with the West, they could not expect any immediate help on the problem from Kagoshima. The Celestial Empire was another unreliable patron, which could not put pressure on Great Britain. The defeat in the Opium War was still fresh in the memory of the Chinese. In addition, all visiting Western ships refused to take the family from the island on one pretext or another.

---

[144] New York Daily Times, March 31, 1855, p. 8.

[145] F.O. China Corres., vol. 165, Bonham to For. Off., No. 14, Feb. 9, 1850, cited in W.G. Beasley, op. cit., p. 80.

The U.S.S. Preble (Commander Glynn), for example, visited Naha in April, 1849. She was on her way to Nagasaki, Japan, to pick up shipwrecked American seamen. As soon as the Preble anchored, Bettelheim called at the ship and was warmly received by Americans. Though Bettelheim expected another missionary from the LNM on board, he only received seven boxes of supplies which Captain Glyn brought from Hongkong.[146] The Preble stayed for three days. During their stay, Glynn received a written request from Shuri to take

---

[146] "Letter from B.J. Bettelheim," The Chinese Repository, pp. 67-68.

Bettelheim from the island.[147] Glynn refused the Ryukyuan request on the ground that Bettelheim was not an American citizen,[148] and that moreover the missionary did not want to leave there. During their short stay there, the Americans observed the situation well in regard to Bettelheim, later writing: "Meanwhile the Loochooans are evidently afraid of their formidable [Western] visitors, even to deport Dr. B. [*sic.*] against his will . . . ."[149] The *Preble* left Okinawa without taking the family away on April 13.

More than a month later, May 22, another Western vessel visited the island. This time, it was a British yacht, the *Nancy Dawson* (Captain Shedden) on a trip around the world. Captain Shedden was accompanied by his wife. It was Mrs. Bettelheim who was very delighted to see the captain's wife, because she had not seen any European female for three years. On this occasion, Bettelheim decided to practice his favorite motto "the harmlessness of the Dove with the wisdom of the Serpent" by disguising Captain Shedden as private messenger of a British admiral. The so-called "official" letter was handed over to Shuri at a meeting between the captain and the authorities.[150]

---

[147] "Cruise of the U.S. Sloop-of-war Preble, Commander James Glynn, To Napa and Nagasacki," U.S. Senate Documents: 32nd Congress, 1st Session (1851-2), vol. IX, Executive Documents, No. 59, ser. 620, p. 44.

[148] Letter of Heir Apparent of the Ryukyus, Shang, to the Provincial Treasurer of Fukien, Sept. 20, 1849, *Li Tai Poa An*.

[149] "Cruise of the U.S. Sloop-of-war Preble . . . .," *op. cit.*, p. 45.

In the letter, various complaints concerning the maltreatment of the kingdom to the missionary were enumerated: 1) Shuri should accept the payment for supplies made by visiting foreign ships, not as a free gift from Shuri to foreigners, but on the basis of free trade; 2) while Bettelheim was on the street, the authorities should not frighten the natives by shouting, "A Hollander [denoted Europeans generally at that time]! A Hollander! Shut your doors! Shut your door!"; 3) the Bettelheims, without having free access to the market, were oblighed to pay very high prices for food and other things; and 4) since Bettelheim had a large supply of medicine, the authorities should permit the people to receive his medical care. The reply from Shuri came four days later. All complaints presented by Bettelheim were rejected by the authorities on one pretext or another.[151] On the other hand, the Ryukyuan request for the removal of the Bettelheims was cordially declined by Captain Shedden, who explained that the ship would navigate to other places. The *Nancy Dawson* left the island on May 27.[152]

---

[150] "Letter from B.J. Bettelheim," The Chinese Repository, pp. 76-77.

Thus, the Ryukyuan authorities could not succeed in persuading any Western visitors to take away the family. In addition to this, the British authorities from time to time requested Shuri a guarantee for the family's safety. All measures to remove the family were thought hopeless with the aid of outside powers such as Satsuma, China, or even England. The only way left for Shuri was to intensify the unbearable conditions for the living of the family.

3. The intensification of persecution

After Liu returned to China, Bettelheim's life on the island became harder than ever. He had already struggled for the Gospel for nearly three years. During the period, the death of the missionary was mistakenly reported due to the difficulty of having a regular communication between England and the Ryukyus. Though Bettelheim was a prolific writer, his reports did not reach England regularly. He had to ask any ship at hand, whether it was a Ryukyuan or a Western one, to carry his reports and diaries to China in order to be forwarded to England from there. Communications and supplies from the LNM and friends were entrusted to any ship which navigated from the China coast to the island.

---

[151] The *tsung li ta ch'ên* of the Ryukyus, Shang T'ing-chu, to Captain Shedden, May 27, 1849, ibid., pp. 77-82.

[152] Letter of Heir Apparent of the Ryukyus, Shang, to the Provincial Treasurer of Fukien, Sept. 20, 1849, *Li Tai Pao An*.

From his reports and voluminous diaries, the LNM could learn in detail how sincerely Bettelheim devoted his life for the propagation of Christianity and medical care there. Thus, the LNM expressed their appreciation of his work up to February, 1849, stating:

> On the whole, a more faithful and fearless discharge of missionary duty cannot be conceived, for all this time the translation work is going on daily; nor can one fail to perceive on reading his journal the most uncompromising boldness in meeting the attacks of the [Ryukyuan] Government, connected with the greatest tenderness and compassion for the souls and bodies of the poor Loo-Chooans.[153]

---

[153] LNM, ed., Report of the LNM for 1848, p. 9.

The men of the "Naval" mission fully supported "the most uncompromising boldness" of their missionary.

The government's interference with his activities did not cease even after the visit of the *Mariner*. In his letter to the authorities, dated April 7, Bettelheim complained that he was "forcibly stopped, and hindered from going about" by spies. The official reply was that they did not disturb him from going out, but the people were ordered not to offend the missionary on the street. It further explained:

> What you [Bettelheim] further say, "That the spies and soldiers terrify the rustic people, and drive off those who are wishing to hear the holy doctrine," is not correct; and still more unjust is it to say that they cause the shopkeepers and people to shut their doors . . . . For, in this country, from the highest officers to the lowest of the people, nobody wants to hear the doctrines of Jesus. The policemen, or the officers, do not hoot at or drive away those who gather to look, and those in the shops are only acting as is their custom.[154]

In the same letter, he frequently found the characters to denote Jesus [耶穌, Yeh-su], which previously they shunned to use. In fact, several dispatches from Bettelheim to the authorities were returned to him on account of bearing these characters. Thus he was very pleased to see it, commenting: "I consider as a point gained, and proof that perservering effort [of Bettelheim] has a softening effect, even on Japanese hatred to Christianity."[155] Unfortunately, it was merely Bettelheim's wishful thinking: Shuri's policy against the propagation of Christianity was never relaxed.

---

[154] Letter from the *tsung li ta ch'ên* of the Ryukyus, Shang T'ing-chu, to Bettelheim, May 18, 1849, cited in "Letter from B.J. Bettelheim," *The Chinese Repository*, pp. 69-72.

On the contrary, persecution was gradually intensified as time went on. One day, for example, a native gentleman accompanied the missionary for some distance on his way. When the man ignored the threats and shouts of spies, he was dragged away by his beard and cruelly beaten for no other reason than he walked a few steps in friendly conversation with the foreign priest. At another time, a native, "whose heart was attracted by the excellence of our faith," was dragged from Bettelheim's neighborhood as well. The native used to address Bettelheim as "father." After his disappearance, Bettelheim never heard anything about the man.[156] These two events occurred before September, 1849.

---

[155] Ibid., p. 76.

[156] Ibid., p. 87.

By September, the official disturbance became more overt. As he wrote:

> Now, all [opposition] is done in my very face and eyes. Whole troops of these wretched hirelings, swelled by a levy . . . from the neighborhoods I successively cross, march in files before and behind me, like soldiers; every side lane being guarded on both openings, and their shouting and hooting almost deafening.[157]

Even when Bettelheim was able to approach someone, the native, pleading deafness and dumbness, motioned with his hands, by pointing to his mouth and ears, and shaking his head in the negative.

The missionary was extremely patient. The more Shuri oppressed him, the more his sense of mission for his faith and country flared up. He resolved one day: "The eyes of Japan are upon us. Our ejection from Lewchew . . . will disgrace England as much . . . . One of the greatest reasons that I forbid my leaving [from Okinawa] is to prevent or at least retard, shame and reproach to fall upon Christianity. Our defeat is the defeat of our country and religion . . . ."[158]

Surely, Bettelheim always believed that his missionary work on the island eventually paved "at least the way for the introduction of Protestantism into Japan." Until the opening of Japan, he thought the island could serve to train a troop of missionaries for their future work in Japan proper. Or, his optimistic view extended further. Even without going to Japan, he thought, missionaries could instill the precepts of Christianity into the Japanese mind. He observed some twenty trading junks came from Satsuma to the island yearly. A calculation thus was made that "each [junk] is manned with twenty persons only, even then four hundred immortal souls could yearly be brought under the sound of the Gospel."[159]

---

[157] _Ibid_., pp. 60-61.

[158] _Ibid_., pp. 88-89.

With a firm conviction for his mission, Bettelheim's missionary activities intensified day by day toward the end of 1849. On November 25, for example, Bettelheim went out at noontime. In various sections of Naha, he jumped over stone walls and intruded into several native's houses and six brothels. Having shouted for the worship of God, he distributed cakes, religious tracts, and foreign coins among occupants of these houses. As soon as the missionary left the houses, the attendant patrolmen visited each house and picked up everything Bettelheim had distributed there. Bettelheim returned home about eight o'clock in the evening. Every movement Bettelheim made outdoors on that day was reported to the zaiban bugyō as usual.[160]

---

[159] Bettelheim, An Appeal for the LNM, p. 5.

With the "unlawful" acts of the missionary, Shuri realized that the time had come to take further steps toward control over his activities. The next day, the Ryukyuan officials consulted with the zaiban bugyō on the subject. Thus on November 30, detailed instructions were transmitted to four districts of Naha where the missionary frequently visited. Instructions were as follows:

(A) In case Bettelheim goes out-of-doors:

(1) Every door and gate must be closed carefully.

(B) In case Bettelheim forces his way into homes:

(1) Japanese books and important papers must be kept out of his eyeshot in advance.

(2) Women and children must run away from the house.

(3) The samurai must stay at home. They must accuse Bettelheim of the unlawful act, stating, "[your action] is like that of burglars. Is it the morality of Jesus?" Then, they must drive him out-of-doors.

---

[160] Miyahira pēchin to Kiyan pēchin, Nov. 26, 1849, Hyōjōjo Shorui.

> (4) If Bettelheim still insists on staying, they, with the aid of relatives, neighbors, and friends, must force him out, shouting at him for a rascal.
>
> (5) If Bettelheim still resists outrageously, they are allowed to twist even his hand.
>
> (C) In regard to the office of the *zaiban bugyō*:
>
> (1) If Bettelheim tries to intrude into the office, anyone may stop him, reprimanding, "[Your action] is like that of burglars. Is it the morality of Jesus?"
>
> (2) Every going in and out of Bettelheim must be reported carefully to the office.[161]

One day after these instructions were issued to the inhabitants of Naha, Bettelheim appeared ironically in Shuri, where no such instructions were issued among the residents. It was the Sabbath day, December 1. First, the missionary went to the southern section of Shuri. He visited a few houses and two temples. At the last temple where he visited, he was scolded by the priest for his entry without permission. On the street, he explained to pedestrians how badly his family was treated on the island. By this time, the officials must have notified the people about instructions, because no palanquin-bearer was willing to be hired by the missionary. Toward midnight, he finally hired a palanquin to his house.[162]

---

[161] Entry of Nov. 30, 1849, *ibid*.

In those gloomy days, the Bettelheims celebrated the first birthday of Lucy Fanny Loochoo. She became one year old on December 8. The family used to invite their neighbors to their children's birthday parties. Cooks of the family were asked to prepare sake (rice wine) and some edibles for native adult friends and cookies for their neighbors' children. The Bettelheims previously planned to invite their friends to the temple. They gave up the plan, because it was thought the officials would certainly disturb them. So, they had to find another way to share their joy with their friends.

About four o'clock in the afternoon, the family went out to distribute these articles among friends. Poor houses in their neighborhood were chosen for distribution. Sake, cookies, and other edibles were presented by the Bettelheims. They distributed these even to guards. Alas, the patrols, however, already knew the family's plan of the day in advance. Except cookies, the officials took away sake and other edibles from the poor and the guards.[163]

---

[162] Letter of Urasoe pēchin to Kiyan pēchin, Dec. 2, 1849, ibid.

The control of Bettelheim's outdoor activities was further tightened after the above two events. The zaiban bugyō sent an order to Shuri to enforce more rigid regulations upon the people concerning the subject. More detailed regulations were drawn up by the Ryukyuan officials. On December 9, these were sanctioned by the zaiban bugyō and put into effect. The outline of the new regulations is as follows:

> The Memorandum of Regulations of the community at the Time of the Englishman's Outing.
>
> (1) Each community must always assign three or four men from commoners to station at the community limits. Whenever the Englishman appears there, they must inform the people to close the gates.
>
> (2) Another team, composed of four or five strong samurai and two or three commoners, must be stationed by turn at a certain point daily. The team must not only check the doors of each house but also serve to force out the Englishman from any house he enters. At that time, they must disguise themselves as the neighbors of the house.
>
> (3) Each member of the community must act as the previous instructions (issued on November 30), when the Englishman intrudes into his house. They shall not reprimand him as previously instructed, but persuade him, saying, "Is it the morality of Jesus?"
>
> (4) The officials of each community must patrol two or three times a day. If any

---

[163] Letter of the same to the same, Dec. 9, 1849, ibid.

> relaxation of regulations is discovered, the officials shall be punished.
>
> (5) Those who do not observe the regulations concerning the Englishman's intrusion into houses shall be punished.
>
> (6) The office of the _zaiban_ _bugyō_ shall be guarded as previously instructed.
>
> (7) Brothels (which were located in Bettelheim's neighborhood) must close gates and doors every day. The officials of the district shall patrol there three or four times daily. Any offender of regulations must be punished.[164]

Now, the control over Bettelheim's outdoor activities was more systematized, and punitive provisions against offenders were enacted. On the very day when the above regulations came into effect, Bettelheim went out. It was the Sabbath day. Although he visited several houses, none dared listen to his preaching. The missionary was further surprised to hear them say that they would never learn the teachings of Jesus. When he tried to enter two houses of the _samurai_, each family followed the regulations faithfully, forcing him out-of-doors. The infuriated missionary hurled words of thunder at them, saying that what they committed against the teacher in Christianity of the country (as Bettelheim called himself) was most reprehensible conduct.[165] Of course, he presented a letter of protest to Shuri the next day.

---

[164] Letter of the same to the same, Dec. 9, 1849, _ibid_.

The events of December 9 led the zaiban bugyō to a conviction that a more rigid method was needed concerning Article three of the regulations. On December 10, Article three was modified partly. The point is as follows:

> When the Englishman forces himself into a house, the men of the house must reprimand him, with an air of anger, saying: "Why do you intrude into the private house arbitrarily? Are the teachings of Jesus so outrageous? You must get out of here immediately!" If he still would not move from the house, they must tell him that they would not deal with such an unlawful man like him any more. They must keep the air of anger until the team member, prescribed in Article two comes to help the family.[166]

Since then, relations between Bettelheim and Shuri deteriorated. On December 12, a messenger was sent to the Bettelheims to transmit the will of Shuri to Bettelheim's letter of protest against maltreatment, dated November 27. The messenger and the missionary had a heated exchange of words; neither yielded at all. The official warned him not to enter native houses without permission, especially to the place where only women stayed.[167] Next day, Bettelheim visited one of the houses in which he was forced out on December 9. He protested against what the samurai did to Bettelheim on that day, warning that if English ships visited the island some day, the English might chastise the samurai.[168]

---

[165] Letter of the same to the same, Dec. 10, 1849, ibid.

[166] Ibid.

The state of affairs in those days was regularly reported to Satsuma. In his letter to a friend, Nariakira reported how Bettelheim grew presumptuous after a visit of the Pilot in December, 1849, stating:

> Bettelheim asked the Ryukyuan officials to call him the English resident at Naha for the Ryukyus, not as the English guest. He further stated that as his home government proposed to Shuri, there must be friendly relations between Shuri and him. He continued saying that "If Shuri do not accept the English proposals, the English would use force to give effect to their proposals." Besides, he told them that he now clearly understood the secret about the subjugation of the kingdom to Satsuma.[169]

Bettelheim, too, reported the deteriorating state of affairs to his friends in England and China.

---

[167] Letter from the same to the same, Dec. 12, 1849, ibid.

[168] Urasaki pēchin to Onga pēchin, Dec. 14, 1849, ibid.

[169] Nariakira to Date Muneki, n.d., cited in Tokutomi, op. cit., p. 416.

Clifford reported, based upon Bettelheim's letter of December 28, to the subscribers of the LNM as follows:

> The hostility of the Loochooan Government daily increased under Japanese influence . . . . he is followed from house to house in his Sabbath day excursions by hosts of spies, . . . and it is evident that this hitherto amiable mild, hospitable, and friendly people, are daily losing sight of their good manners, and increasing in the boldness of their opposition, until from words they are coming to pushing and dragging your Missionary out of houses, and will doubtless come . . . to blows, unless restrained by fear of the British Government . . . .[170]

Having reviewed Bettelheim's works, Clifford praised him highly, concluding: "Your Missionary's zeal is not in the slightest degree abated, and his Christian calmness, patience, and forbearance, seem to increase with every fresh insult . . . ."

Bettelheim's letter to the Chinese Repository dated December 28 further contained a vivid picture of the system of surveillance. As it recorded Bettelheim's words: "When I go out to my work, in whatever direction, I found these emissaries at the end of every lane, besides forerunners going before crying, The Barbarian! The Barbarian! Shut the door!" Then, it stated how Bettelheim coped with difficulties. It continued:

---

[170] The Claims of Loo Choo, sec. entitled "Letter XIII," pp. 1-2.

> In order to elude them, he [Bettelheim] has screened himself in a thicket till evening, and then suddenly shown himself in the crowds of the capital, but his success has not been much more . . . . it [the enemy] is used to gather the troupe, and on they come, bearing long and heavy bamboos, striking upon the naked bodies of the people as if they were a mass of cattle, and crying out, Why did you not run?[171]

The hostility between the officials and the missionary grew day by day. By the tight system of surveillance, peoples had to show an air of apathy toward the missionary. In the midst of hostility, the only way to break the dilemma seemed to be quiet persuasion with patience. He kept up his Sunday street preaching. He did it on the first Sabbath day of the new year 1850, and, the biggest trial he ever had since his landing on the island occurred. About four in the afternoon, he entered a samurai's house to preach the Gospel. The family asked the missionary to leave the house. However, he not only refused to do so but lay on his back there, according to a Ryukyuan report.[172] The missionary recorded the outcome of his resistance, stating: "I heard several voices outside crying, 'Catch him! Lay hold on him!' and soon after, there rushed in six or eight policemen who roughly laid hold on me by the arms and legs."[173] They carried him up and threw him out of doors. Bettelheim hit the ground hard and fell into a trance there.

---

[171] "Letter from B.J. Bettelheim," The Chinese Repository, p. 90.

[172] Onaga pēchin to Nakamura pēchin, Jan. 7, 1850, Hyōjōjo Shorui.

The family left the unconscious missionary there for a while until Mrs. Bettelheim came in a hurry to rescue her husband. As she recorded:

> About four o'clock [I] suddenly heard that my husband met with a calamity and lay on the ground. I hastened to go there and found my dear husband laying on the street unconscious. Nobody dared carry him into a house. [I] asked them to bring a matt for him. Seeing patrolmen, who were swinging sticks and scolding, nobody helped me. Finally, a man sympathized with me and helped us.[174]

Soon, the missionary's consciousness was recovered. He had injured his back, so that he could not stand up. Two men rendered help to carry the wounded man to the temple.

---

[173] Letter from Bernard John Bettelheim, M.D., Missionary to the Loo Choo Island, addressed to Rev. Peter Parker, M.D., Canton, China, dated March 1851, printed at the office of the *Chinese Repository*, Canton, 1852, p. 32. Cited hereafter as *Letter from Bettelheim to Peter Parker*.

[174] Mrs. Bettelheim's witness in Bettelheim's letter to the Ryukyu Government, Jan. 8, 1850, *Po-tê-ling Ch'i T'a Wang Fu Wên* [Letters Exchanged with Bettelheim and Other], v. I, Liu Ch'iu Wang Fu [Royal Office of the Ryukyus]. Hereafter cited as *Po-tê-ling Wang Fu Wên*.

He was confined to bed for several days. Two days after the incident, Bettelheim wrote a letter of protest to Shuri. He stated how outrageously the men had handled him and concluded with the following words:

> Why does the Ryukyuan government return evil for good? Why does it treat the mercy, liberality, and patience of England with contempt? Does it not know the mercy of England would let the Ryukyuan government repent of its sin? Alas! When English ships arrive here again, [the English] shall surely adjudge the matter. Without stationing English soldiers, the English family [the Bettelheims] can not stay on this island.[175]

The reply from the authorities came one month later, February 6. It denied utterly what Bettelheim protested. After investigating the incident, Shuri concluded that it was Bettelheim's fault that the trouble occurred. On that day, Bettelheim broke into the house and frightened women and children, it stated. The reply explained the crucial point as follows. The family and neighbors gathered and asked Bettelheim to leave. Seeing his refusal, several men had to carry the prostrate Bettelheim out of doors. However, the missionary still lay on the ground as he had inside the house.

When several people tried to help him stand up,

---

[175] *Ibid.*

Bettelheim showed the men a picture of Christ as if it was a good chance to preach something about Christian doctrines to them. Since they did not like to see it nor listen to his discourse, the men quitted their hands and left him on the ground. Shuri also strongly denied his allegation that the men were about to kill him. The last part of the reply was the insistence that Bettelheim should stop preaching Christianity, offering medical service, frightening women and children, and entering houses without permission.[176]

Next day, February 7, another letter of protest was sent to Shuri. Bettelheim asked the authorities to make it clear when and where he broke doors and gates and jumped over fences into the houses. He also asserted that it was the governmental duty to teach women and children as not to be afraid of the missionary. Again, he concluded by explaining how Western medicines and Christian teachings were praiseworthy to accept.[177] We do not know whether the authorities understood Bettelheim's inquiry clearly. Since he did not receive any apology from Shuri, Bettelheim, as we shall see later, would continue to seek Shuri's responsibility as the occasions arose.

---

[176] Reply of the tsung li ta ch'ên, Shang Kuo-tung, to Bettelheim, Feb. 6, 1850, Po-tê-ling Wang Fu Wên, v. I, pp. 7-14.

[177] Reply of Bettelheim to the tsung li ta ch'ên, Feb. 7, 1850, ibid., pp. 15-21.

Though the authorities never yielded to Bettelheim, they did, however, realize that their men exceeded their proper duty in the incident. Immediately after the incident, the mayor and other officials concerned with foreigners were ordered to reexamine how to handle such a case properly, because it was not permissible to beat him except under extraordinary circumstances.[178]

On the other hand, having seen the determined policy of the authorities, Bettelheim also realized that he should have behaved more carefully. Thus, in early February, he sent a conciliatory letter to the authorities, proposing a banquet for the high-ranking officials of Shuri. The reason for his invitation was explained Bettelheim as follows. Bettelheim having never met such high officials, lesser officials, who attended Bettelheim used to spread rumours about the existence of discord between Bettelheim and high officials. Since he had no hostile feeling against the high officials in Shuri, he wanted to have the banquet in order to hush up the rumour spread by the lesser officials. He did not forget to mention that he had prepared new and aged sake for them.[179] The authorities seemed not to have the proffered handshake of Bettelheim. They were still adamant. Shortly after the dispatch of the invitation, Bettelheim was stoned several times on February 11, while preaching to people in the market place. He noticed that someone, wearing the clothes of Confucian scholars, ran away. A letter of protest was of course sent to Shuri.[180]

---

[178] Letter of Onaga pēchin to Nakamura pēchin, Jan. 7, 1850, Hyōjōjo Shorui.

The year of 1850 commenced with the gloomy affair in January and continued to be unpleasant for the missionary. The officials became more hostile than ever, and the people were indifferent to him. Under these circumstances, his nerves were on edge. For instance, in the beginning of March of the year, he was greatly bothered by the prowling of venomous serpents in the temple ground. Almost every night his chickens, goats, and even dogs were infested by snakes. In the Ryukyus, such kind of snakes often live within the holes of coral reefs. The ground where the Bettelheims stayed was exactly an ideal place for snakes. It was located near the seashore, and the temple was built on the cleared ground of coral reef. Sometimes, snakes multiply enormously due to abnormal weather. Since this was his first experience in his four year stay on the island, the year of 1850 must have been such a case. Bettelheim's suspicion grew until he thought snakes were loosed on his ground in an effort to do the Bettelheims harm.[181] However, he later found it to be a groundless suspicion.

---

[179] Letter of Bettelheim to the Ryukyu government, n.d., ibid., pp. 23-24.

[180] Letter of Bettelheim to the tsung li kuan, Feb. 11, 1850, ibid., pp. 25-26.

The family had to face another trial on the last day of March. Mrs. Bettelheim was on the street when she was surrounded by a group of villains led by the officials. These men intentionally caused trouble for Mrs. Bettelheim. She was beaten and chased by them. She barely escaped from the men and returned home. Upon entering the house, she suddenly fainted away due to agony and humiliation. When her husband wrote a letter of protest the next day, she still could not get out of bed.[182]

The governmental reply to his protest was cool in tone, denying such occurrence altogether. It further explained that in the country, according to Confucian teaching women and men were strictly separated. Therefore, native men would not approach Mrs. Bettelheim on the street at all but would give way or avoid meeting her. Consequently, Bettelheim's assertion was thought groundless by the authorities.[183] There was no sign of sincerity seen in the official attitude toward Bettelheim at that time.

---

[181] Letter of Bettelheim to the tsung li kuan, Mar. 9, 1850, *ibid.*, pp. 27-28.

[182] Letter of the same to the Ryukyu government, Apr. 1, 1850, *ibid.*, pp. 33-35.

The insincerity of Shuri was reflected in purveyors and cooks sent by the government. As mentioned before, the Bettelheims had no freedom to purchase their food and daily necessities at the market place; purveyors and cooks provided these for the family so as to shut out communication between the foreigners and natives. In a word, the family's very existence fell into purveyors' and cooks' hands. As Shuri's hostile feeling against the missionary increased, these men showed their insincerity toward the family as well.

Already from the beginning of 1849, Bettelheim noticed that the appointed purveyors supplied the family "the worst articles possible." Naturally, Bettelheim tried to get fresh food stuffs at the market in person. Sometimes he succeeded in purchasing a horse-load of fresh sweet potatoes from a peddler. On another occasion, his secret purchase of meat at the market was discovered by spies, and Bettelheim had to take to his heels with the meat under his arm.[184]

---

[183] District official of Naha, Chêng Ch'ang-lieh, to Bettelheim, Apr. 17, 1850, ibid., pp. 39-41.

The state of affairs was further aggravated in the beginning of 1850. Finally, on April 16, Bettelheim presented a petition to the authorities, stating the lamentable state of their living in the recent time:

> Our daughter has no shoes to wear. My writing brush is worn out so badly that I can not drown my agony in writing letters. There is not a single leaf of tobacco. The English woman [Mrs. Bettelheim] is as usual hard to get daily necessities and food stuff. We only eat enough not to starve to death.[185]

He then petitioned for improvement of the situation.

While Shuri was delaying the reply, they received another letter from Bettelheim. This time it was addressed to the Heir Apparent to the Crown. The subject was the probability of a plot to poison the family. According to the letter, on the night of April 19,

---

[184] "Letter of B.J. Bettelheim," The Chinese Repository, p. 63.

[185] Petition of Bettelheim to the tsung li kuan, Apr1. 16, 1850, Po-tê-ling Wang Fu Wên, v. I, pp. 37-38.

Bettelheim and his wife had the gripes and vomited after they went to bed. Bettelheim still suffered from a stomachache the next day. If there was not such a plot to poison them, someone must have prepared rotten meat, or spoiled fish, or bruised vegetables for the family, it stated. He thus petitioned the immediate investigation of the problem for the safety of the family.[186]

The reply came to Bettelheim ten days later, May 1. It was almost the same as the previous replies, simply denying Bettelheim's allegation as groundless -- it was groundless because every government employee treated the family with courtesy and respect. In addition, it warned him that thereafter no correspondence should be made directly to the Heir Apparent to the Throne.[187] To this reply, Bettelheim sent a letter of refutation next day. But the treatment of the family by the officials was not improved.

Interestingly enough, he attached a Chinese poem composed by him to the above letter, dated May 2. It is titled "Looking Forward to Auspice."

---

[186] Petition of the same to Heir Apparent of the kingdom, April 20, 1850, ibid., pp. 43-44.

[187] The tsung li kuan, Shang Kuo-tung, to Bettelheim, May 1, 1850, Po-tê-ling Wang Fu Wên, v. I, pp. 47-50.

Since it was composed roughly, it is hard to understand the meaning clearly. But the outline is comprehensible as follows:

> The heat of daytime is harsh, but the moon in the evening conveys pleasant coolness. We officially exchange heated correspondence, but our hearts really are gentle. Outwardly, the Englishman [Bettelheim] persists in his opinion, but inwardly does not do so. I suppose that the Ryukyuan mind and the official position are not identical as well.[188]

From the poem, we see how earnestly Bettelheim tried to establish amicable relations with the authorities. The situation was still the same. The Ryukyuan mind was not moved by the dedication of the poem, because he had to write other letters of protest in June of the same year.

On June 9, for example, he protested against inhumane patrolmen whom Mrs. Bettelheim met at market on the same day. Since there was nothing to eat in their house, Mrs. Bettelheim took two servants for shopping in the heavy rain. No sooner had she bought vegetables and rice than a patrolman appeared and beat up her servants. Groceries were taken back from Mrs. Bettelheim's hands. She went to another store for potatoes, but the officials repeated the same kind of outrage. She had to return home empty-handed.[189]

---

[188] See the letter from Bettelheim to the tsung li kuan, May 2, 1850, ibid., pp. 51-57.

He waited a whole day for the reply from Shuri, to no avail. At last he went to the street in order to beg food. When he returned home, he found his dogs starving and in danger of biting anybody. As a last resort, he went to a guardhouse, complaining of his sad plight. One man suddenly went out and brought back some potatoes for him. He therefore sent another letter of protest the next day.[190]

That time must have been the peak of the maltreatment of the family by purveyors and cooks, since we do not see such piteous accounts afterwards. The reply from the *tsung li kuan* came ten days later, June 21. Shuri still maintained that state law prohibited commercial transactions between foreigners and natives and also the usage of foreign currencies on the island. That was why purveyors and cooks were sent to the family, it stated.[191] Bettelheim found that everything the *tung li kuan* stated was contrary to the facts. Therefore, he sent a long letter of refutation to the same official. The points of his refutation were: 1) although the authorities asserted trade between foreigners and natives was prohibited, trade with the Japanese was carried on; 2) Bettelheim asserted that purchase or sale of daily necessities was not trade; and 3) contrary to the official allegation, foreign currencies were in use on the island.[192] Shuri ignorned his refutation. Bettelheim, however, did not give up his position at all.

---

[189] Petition of Bettelheim to the Ryukyu government, June 9, 1850, *ibid*., p. 59.

[190] Petition of the same to Heir Apparent, June 10, 1850, *ibid*., pp. 61-63.

[191] The *tsung li kuan*, Shang Kuo-tung, to Bettelheim, June 21, 1850, *ibid*., pp. 65-69.

On August 2, an American ship, the Merlin, visited Naha. It was almost eight months since the Bettelheims last saw Westerners. The ship had left the Philippines but drifted to the Ryukyus by encountering a storm. At that time one passenger was ill, so he was taken to the Bettelheims. Seeing the patient, the Ryukyuan officials thought another foreigner might settle there. A protest against the landing of any foreigner was made by the officials.[193] Having received its wants and a kind reception of the

---

[192] Bettelheim to the tsung li kuan, June 22, 1850, ibid., pp. 71-79.

[193] Letter from Bettelheim to Peter Parker, p. 8.

Ryukyuans, the Merlin left Naha on August 8.[194]

A week later, the authorities received a letter of the captain and the eight Americans on board the Merlin from Bettelheim. The delay of its presentation to Shuri was explained by Bettelheim that it took a week to translate the letter. Due to the lack of materials, all we know is that Bettelheim seized the time of the visit of the Merlin as a chance to improve the lamentable relations between the family and the authorities. There was a precedent of this sort at the time of the visit of the Nancy Dawson in May, 1849.

The letter first expressed thanks to the treatment of the authorities for the ship. It however gave advice that since the Americans were not beggars, the Ryukyuans should have received payment for wants, which were presented free according to Ryukyuan custom for visitors. Then it advised Shuri to change the present inhumane treatment to the Bettelheims, warning that Great Britain had enough power to destroy the powerful Ryukyuan castle and beautiful tombs of their respectful ancestors by sending one warship.[195] However, it is unlikely that the letter had any effect on the authorities to change their attitude toward the family.

---

[194] Letter of Heir Apparent of the Ryukyus, Shang, to the Provincial Treasurer of Fukien, Oct. 19, 1850, Li Tai Pao An.

The real pressure on the authorities to modify their hostile attitude toward the missionary was brought about by the visit of the Reynard two months later. The visit of H.M.S. Reynard was realized through the utmost efforts of the LNM and their friends. Of course, Bettelheim himself made a petition to the British government. His letter dated December 9, 1849, for example, was addressed to Lord Palmerston, stating that the torments and insults which he suffered daily increased so that "he is literally treated as a prisoner, the guardhouses continuing as before, but increased at his doors, front and back . . . ."[196] As mentioned above the British Plenipotentiary in China, Bonham, however, presented an unfavorable report about Bettelheim's missionary work to the Foreign Office in February, 1850.[197]

---

[195] Letter of Bettelheim to the Ryukyu Government, enclosing the letter of the captain and eight American passengers on board the Merlin to the Ryukyu Government, Aug. 15, 1850, Po-tê-ling Wang Fu Wên , v. I, pp. 89-100.

[196] Letter of Foreign Office to Captain H. Downes, June 8, 1850, cited in Report of the LNM for 1850-51, 1851, p. 10.

Having examined the letter of the Ryukyuan government which requested the removal of the Bettelheims and Bonham's letter, on June 8, 1850, the Foreign Office advised the LNM to transfer the missionary from the island. As has been stated, Palmerston had no interest in the Bettelheim problem beyond the protection of the lives and property of the British subjects. Once he was moved by the suggestion of Robertson and Gützlaff to open an international trading port at Naha. Having met a strong objection of the Ryukyuan government against the idea, the Foreign Secretary lost his interest in it.

Thus, the letter from the Foreign Office conveyed the will of the Secretary as follows: "You [Captain Downes of the LNM] will call the attention of the parties [the LNM] . . . to the difficulties to which he [Bettelheim] is exposed, and the little chance of any good result arising from his labours; and that you will request them to consider whether he might not be more usefully employed elsewhere."[198]

---

[197] See p. 209.

[198] Foreign Office to Captain Downes, June 8, 1850, cited in the Report of the LNM for 1850-51, pp. 10-11.

The LNM got a great shock when they learned the intention of the Foreign Office, especially for its effect on the basic objective of their body. To Clifford, as the founder of the society, it was a grave matter to give up the propagation of the Ryukyus for which he had devoted his life for more than three decades. Clifford thus wrote an elaborate letter so as to convince the Foreign Office of the necessity of the government's further support for the missionary. He called upon the Foreign Office to consider the history of other missions, such as the first missionaries in Greenland, in Tahiti, and in New Zealand -- all took considerably more time and experienced a much greater risk of life than in the case of the Ryukyus to achieve their objectives.

Though the LNM had no other objective than the propagation of Christianity, Clifford, however, called the special attention of the authorities to the result of successful missionary enterprise there. He stated, "They fully anticipated that considerable advantages will arise even to this country from the spread of Christianity and civilization, through British influence, in an island so favourably situated for commerce as Loo-Choo."[199] Then he touched on the apprehension from the same quarters about trouble with China in case of any direct interference on the part of the British Government. Thus he suggested to adopt "a line of conduct" on the part of the Government, and of naval officers on the China station, which would strengthen Dr. Bettelheim's position without infringing on international rights. He frankly confessed that their missionary had not yet succeeded in making any converts, but made the LNM's position clear that "the [LNM] are reluctant to take themselves the great responsibility of abandoning a work . . . ."[200]

A week later, pleasant news came from the Foreign Office. Clifford's letter finally moved Palmerston. The reply, dated July 2, stated that "as long as the committee [of the LNM] think it advisable to keep Dr. Bettelheim at Loo-Choo, such countenance shall be afforded to him by Her Majesty's Government as the Naval arrangements in the Chinese

---

[199] Petition of Clifford to the Foreign Office, June 24, 1850, cited in ibid., pp. 11-13.

[200] Ibid.

Seas may admit of . . . ."[201] For this purpose, a disptach was sent from Palmerston to Bonham at Hongkong, instructing that "a man-of-war should occasionally touch at Lewchew, and that the Lewchewan authorities should be informed that the British Government take an interest in Bettelheim, and would view with displeasure any attempt to repel him from Lewchew by a system of annoyance or persecution."[202]

At Hongkong, the preparation for the dispatch of H.M.S. Reynard was made in September, 1850. The mission was headed by Captain P. Cracroft and seconded by the Bishop of Victoria, George Smith. Smith became Bishop of the newly-formed see of Victoria in China in May, 1849. For Smith, the visit to the Ryukyus was a part of his first episcopal visit to the consular cities in the northern parts of China.[203] The Reynard arrived at the island on October 3. Its appearance threw the sleepy island into an uproar.

---

[201] Foreign Office to Clifford, July 2, 1850, cited in ibid., p. 13.

[202] George Smith, Lewchew and the Lewchewans; being a Narrative of a Visit to Lewchew or Loo-Choo in October, 1850, London, 1853, p. 8. Hereafter cited as Lewchew and the Lewcheans.

[203] Alexander Wylie, Memorials of Protestant Missionaries to the Chinese, Shanghai, 1867, p. 142.

"An English ship in sight!", cried the uneasy interpreters. "Dah fi buni! Look! a steamer!" heard Bettelheim pleasantly as his daughter, Rose, shouted in the native tongue.

The next day Captain Cracroft and Bishop Smith visited the Bettelheims and prepared a letter to the Ryukyuan authorities. The captain asked Shuri to arrange a meeting with the tsung li ta ch'ên. The letter from the Foreign Secretary to the Ryukyu Kingdom was also handed to the officials. Bettelheim and the captain then prepared the subjects to be discussed at the meeting. The first meeting between Captain Cracroft and the Ryukyuan authorities was held at Naha Public Office on the following day, October 5. This meeting Bettelheim did not attend because it was thought advisable to exclude him from all the diplomatic interviews with the Ryukyuan authorities.[204] To their disappointment, the tsung li ta ch'ên was not present under the pretext of illness. Instead, the British met the so-called second highest ranking official, the pu chêng ta fu [Treasurer] and the District Magistrate of Naha.

During the meeting, the British side presented a list of nine complaints, which they claimed that Bettelheim had previously sent to the colonial government of Hongkong -- in fact it had been presented to the captain on the previous day. The summary of the complaints is as follows:

---

[204] LNM, ed., Report of the LNM for 1850-51, p. 6.

1. Policemen made a heavy assault on Bettelheim on January 6, 1850.
2. Policemen disturbed Mrs. Bettelheim to buy food, while the family was starving on January 8 and 9.
3. Bettelheim performed an operation for cataract on one eye of a poor man on June 30. However, the officials hid him to prevent Bettelheim's further treatment for the poor man.
4. Bettelheim's petition to hire a man to kill venomous snakes in Bettelheim's ground was declined by the officials.
5. Mrs. Bettelheim was often insulted on the public road by spies and police.
6. Purveyors and cooks daily provided the family a meagre amount of poor food.
7. His application for the employment of a workman was declined by the authorities.
8. He was not allowed to use public ferries and horses as transportation media.
9. Bettelheim is suffering from the ban against people's association with him.[205]

---

[205] List of the nine complaints presented by Captain Cracroft to the Ryukyuan government, Oct. 5, 1850, Po-tê-ling Wang Fu Wên, v. I, pp. 118-20.

The list was translated by Smith so briefly that it was hard to convey Bettelheim's original intention precisely to Shuri.

In turn, the Ryukyuan officials presented two letters to Captain Cracroft. One asked the captain for the removal of the Bettelheims from the island.[206] Another letter stated at length that the Ryukyus had no intention of opening communication and trade with any countries. The propagation of Christianity to the islanders was also declined, because they had the teachings of Confucius. It further forbade a crew member with an infectious disease to go ashore for the prevention of an epidemic.[207]

To these letters, Captain Cracroft explained that Bettelheim was a good man to whom the British Government attached importance. Then, he warned the Ryukyuan delegates that if thereafter Shuri treated the missionary wrongly, the British Government was ready to use force to correct it.[208] Besides, Cracroft explained to the Ryukyuans that he had no authorization to take the Bettelheims from the island. The meeting lasted less than one hour. The British asked the Ryukyuans to arrange a meeting with the tsung li kuan. The meeting of October 5 was regarded as a preliminary meeting by the British.

---

[206] Petition of pu chêng ta fu, Ma Liang-ts'ai, and other to Captain Cracroft, Oct. 5, 1850, ibid., pp. 105-6.

[207] The pu chêng ta fu to Captain Cracroft, Oct. 5, 1850, ibid., pp. 107-16.

[208] Letter of Heir Apparent of the Ryukyus, Shang, to the Provincial Treasurer of Fukien, Oct. 19, 1850, Li Tai Pao An.

Two days later, October 7, the tsung li kuan went on board the Reynard to see Captain Cracroft. It was Cracroft's turn to decline the meeting with the Ryukyuan under the pretext of illness. The formal meeting of these two officials were scheduled on October 9. In the morning of the day, Bettelheim's second daughter, Lucy Fanny Loochoo, was baptized by Bishop Smith, who had stayed at the Bettelheim's since his arrival at the island.

The meeting of Captain Cracroft and the tsung li kuan took place at the public office of Naha. Cracroft, his officers, and a guard of fifty men, with flags and music, marched from Bettelheim's residence to the public office. The music played by the marines attracted the natives.

At the conference, the tsung li kuan presented three petitions to the captain and another petition to Palmerston. The first petition to the captain was a refutation of the nine complaints. The Ryukyuans refuted each complaint in the same way they had to Bettelheim previously.[209] The second petition was about the removal of the Bettelheims from the island.[210] The last petition restated the prohibition of the landing of the infectious case on board.[211] The long petition to Palmerston was the repetition of one they made on the occasion of the visit of the *Pilot* in December, 1849 -- Shuri asked for the removal of the Bettelheims from the island and declined any British proposal for the opening of communication and trade with the Ryukyus.[212]

To these petitions, Cracroft's letter to the Ryukyuans was short but clear, stating: "I am instructed by the British Government to inform you, that they regard Dr. Bettelheim with interest, and will view *with great displeasure* any attempt on the part of the Loochoo authorities to compel Dr. Bettelheim, by any system of annoyance and persecution, to quit the island . . . ."[213] (Italics mine.) Then, the captain urged the Ryukyuans to treat the missionary well as the Chinese did by showing the edicts of the Chinese Emperor, which allowed the Chinese to worship Christianity five years before. Seeing the firm attitude of the Englishmen, the Ryukyuans seems to have promised the favorable treatment of the Bettelheims.

---

[209] The *tsung li ta ch'ên*, Shang Ta-mo, and the *pu chêng ta fu*, Ma Liang-ts'sai, to Captain Cracroft, Oct. 9, 1850, *Po-tê-ling Wang Fu Wên*, v. I, pp. 129-36.

[210] The same to the same, Oct. 9, 1850, *ibid.*, pp. 137-38.

[211] The same to the same, Oct. 9, 1850, *ibid.*, pp. 139-41.

[212] The same to the Foreign Secretary of Great Britain, Oct. 9, 1850, *ibid.*, pp. 145-57.

"Good news! good news!" shouted the excited Bishop to the Bettelheims. This time, too, Bettelheim did not attend the conference. In late afternoon of the same day, Smith and Bettelheim went up to the capital. A large crowd surrounded the foreign ministers. Bettelheim asked the Bishop to address the natives. Bettelheim described the scene as follows: "They heard again the atonement preached to them. Then came a universal rush, which carried off almost the whole congregation at once." The Bishop's preaching was suddenly interrupted by patrolmen. Bettelheim, however, was very pleased to see such a large audience still at the capital, since he had ceased preaching at the capital a year ago because of persecution. On their way home, each minister was offered a palanquin and lights.[214]

---

[213] Captain Cracroft to the Ryukyuan authorities, dated Oct. 8, 1850, cited in Clifford, ed., Loochoo Mission: Extracts from the Journal of the Society's Missionary, Dr. Bettelheim, 1850-1852, London, n.d., p. 9. Hereafter cited as Extracts from the Journal of the Society's Missionary.

The Bishop was able to observe the difficulties of Bettelheim to propagate Christianity on the island. As he wrote to the LNM: "Whenever I accompanied Dr. B. [*sic.*] the people avoided intercourse, shunned meeting him, gave no reply to his questions . . . . In the Market-place, . . . it was speedily emptied, and a thousand people might be hurrying to the opposite quarter . . . . Whenever we made our appearance the doors were hastily closed . . . ." Therefore, the bishop seriously thought if the visit of the *Reynard* did not produce any amelioration, there was "no other alternative than an abandonment of the Mission . . . ." This, however, does not mean that he could not see the importance of missionary work there.

On the contrary, he fully supported Bettelheim's missionary and translation works on the island. Further, he recommended the LNM to strengthen his missionary work there by sending two additional married missionaries, if the situation allowed or the Ryukyuan government abandoned its present policy.[215] In the introduction to the account of his visit to Okinawa, he wrote: "At the present time Lewchew is the only avenue to Japan . . . . A mission to the former is in effect a mission prospectively to the latter country also."[216] The Bishop encouraged Bettelheim to continue his present work on the island.

---

[214] *Ibid*., p. 9.

By the way, Smith stayed at Bettelheim's for six nights, thus having a chance to observe well the missionary's personality. He wrote: "He [Bettelheim] sometimes uttered sentiments which savour more of a Joshua than a Paul . . ." -- he was a man of fortitude, of less gentle texture, and of a sanguine temperament.[217] The Bishop thought this kind of disposition was of no more avail in the difficult missionary work on the island than that of Father Forcade, who had the reputation of being a gentleman of very popular manners and amicable disposition.[218] The crews of the Reynard observed Bettelheim as follows: "Dr. Bettelehim . . . , although overflowing with missionary zeal, is somewhat peculiar in his views and conduct."[219] However, they did not describe further how peculiar his views and conduct were.

---

[215] Dispatch of Bishop Smith to the LNM, Nov. 1, 1850, cited in the Report of the LNM for 1850-51, p. 6.

[216] Lewchew and the Lewchewans, p. vi.

[217] Ibid., p. v.

On October 10, the Reynard left the island. Just before its departure, the Ryukyuan authorities were invited to a banquet on board the Reynard. All parties -- Captain Cracroft, Bishop Smith, Bettelheim, the *tsung li kuan*, the *pu chêng ta fu*, and Ichirazichi -- sat in a happy circle. The salute was fired when the first toast was drunk from the champaigne glasses. The Reynard continued the voyage for Bishop Smith's episcopal visit to the northern parts of China after its visit to the island.

The visit of the Reynard changed to some degree, if not entirely, the attitude of Shuri toward Bettelheim. The change is verified by his letters and reports. To Peter Parker, for example, he wrote in

---

[218] Disptach of Bishop Smith to the LNM, Nov. 1, 1850, cited in the *Report of the LNM for 1850-51*, p. 7.

[219] "Sketches in Loo Choo," *The Illustrated London News*, v. 18 (March 8, 1851), p. 187.

March,1851, "Since the powerful aid and countenance afforded us by the Reynard . . . no personal attack has been made on either of us [him and his wife] . . . ."[220] In October, 1852, his letter to another friend in China says, "The Reynard did us a world of good. We have since gradually found door after door opening and the people now received us as friendly as at the beginning . . . ."[221] Thus, it is safe to say that the visit of the Reynard was a watershed to divide the period after the "Golden Age of the mission" into two parts, the first half and the latter half.

4. Translation work and medical service

During the period covered in this chapter, Bettelheim devoted his extra time of missionary work for the translation of the Acts of the Apostles. Besides, he occasionally wrote religious pamphlets in the native tongue as his knowledge in the language increased. As mentioned before, he distributed a large number of religious tracts among the natives. However, the authorities confiscated these from recipients and took them into the official custody. As time went on, the stock of tracts, which had been brought there from China, ran low. Therefore, Bettelheim provided home-made pamphlets; some were simply copied from those printed in China and others were written in the kana by Bettelheim.

---

[220] Letter of Bettelheim to Peter Parker, p. 16.

[221] Bettelheim to Rev. John Hobson, British chaplain at Shanghai, Oct. 1, 1852, Collection of Bettelheim's letters [MS], in possession of Mrs. Hampton. Hereafter cited as Bettelheim's Letters.

The first appearance of the genuine home-made pamphlet was reported on January 30, 1848. Bettelheim distributed five sheets of this sort with forty-eight other tracts written in Chinese. As to the content of the papers, the officials commented: "These were written in the straight-lined Japanese syllabary [katakana]. Though these were written in the native tongue, we can not comprehend the meaning of the sentences at all."[222]

From the above comment, we can judge his knowledge in the native tongue was still quite far from mastery, though he could write the kana well. One may wonder why he, such a linguistic genius, could not master the Ryukyuan dialect as fast as he did in the case of the Chinese. The difference resulted first from the degree of his interest and then from the tutoring problem. As stated before, from the early days of his missionary career, he had a firm conviction that the mastery of Chinese was a sine qua non in order to be respected in the Oriental society. He started to study Chinese earlier and spent more time on it than the Ryukyuan dialect. While in Hongkong, he met many English and American missionaries, who must have given him useful suggestions and books on the subject. In addition, he had the services of a Chinese interpreter (Liu) for three years. All these advantages for mastering Chinese were lacking in the case of the Ryukyuan dialect.

---

[222] Report of the State Councillors to the Clan Councillors of Satsuma, Feb. 9, 1848, Hyōjōjo Shorui.

He had to start the study of Ryukyuan without good textbooks with only the guidance of the poorly compiled Clifford vocabulary. Upon arriving at the island, he met only indifferent officials. At first, the people were friendly, but they were mostly illiterate. Even after he secured language teachers in the latter part of the year 1847, they were not so sincere as Bettelheim expected. The tutors neglected to teach him regularly, or sometimes misinterpreted the meaning of sentences to him, or declined instructions if Bettelheim asked them to read sentences relating to Christianity.

Under these circumstances, it was natural that his mastery of the Ryukyuan dialect was slower than that of Chinese. Compared with the French priests, however, Bettelheim made greater progress in the subject. In August, 1848, he wrote about the French as follows: "The would-be Apostolic Missionaries were only seen but never heard, themselves confessing they have hitherto failed in securing the language."[223] In the same month, LeTurdu gave up the propagation of the island and left for China.

When LeTurdu left Okinawa on board a French man-of-war on August 27, 1848, Bettelheim asked the ship to convey his translation of Luke and the Acts to Hongkong. Bettelheim explained to the LNM that these were translated into the Japanese Loochooan. His works arrived at the LNM in February,1849 and were transmitted to the British and Foreign Bible Society,[224] which was organized in 1804 for the purpose of distributing the Scriptures at home and abroad. The delighted LNM thus made an appeal for a "Special Fund" to print the translation of the Gospel of St. Luke and the Acts of the Apostles in the "Loo-Chooan

---

[223] Bettelheim, An Appeal for the LNM, p. 8.

[224] LNM, ed., Report of the LNM for 1848, p. 5.

Japanese Character."

The public response in England was great. By February, 1850, the committee of the LNM received a sum of more than one hundred and sixty pounds. The British and Foreign Bible Society also donated a sum of fifty pounds for the Fund as well. At that time the Rev. Dr. Gützlaff visited England. He suggested that the LNM return the manuscripts to Hongkong in order to have them printed there by a converted Japanese. Besides, it was estimated that the casting of the type in England, even had there been a competent person to surpervise the press, would have been much more expensive than cutting the blocks in China.[225]

Eventually, the manuscripts were returned to Hongkong. When Bishop Smith visited Bettelheim on October 4, to Bettelheim's great surprise, the Bishop returned the same manuscripts which Bettelheim sent to England two years before! The Bishop also handed Bettelheim a note from the Rev. J.W. Meller of the British and Foreign Bible Society to the effect that Bettelheim had better go over the manuscripts if he wanted them to be immediately printed. Smith advised Bettelheim that the correction of the manuscripts had to be made by the departure of the Reynard -- within a week.[226]

---

[225] LNM, ed., Report of the LNM for 1849-50, p. 9.

During the stay of the Reynard, the correction of the manuscripts kept Bettelheim busy. As he wrote in his Journal:

> Perused another part of Mr. Mellor's criticism on my translation. What a blessing for the Bible Society to possess such men! Mr. M. has the keen eye of a printer, from whose observation not a dot escaped, and a rare philological knowledge, and it is therefore encouraging to my humble self to see that even under such a hand my translation was allowed to pass uncrippled, though justly chastised here and there.[227]

Though Bettelheim was asked to correct the manuscripts while Smith stayed on the island, it took more time than Smith suggested. In the end, he could not entrust these to Smith when he left the island on October 10. The correction of each manuscript took a month. In those few days, Bettelheim and his wife worked hard. As he noted in his journal: "I write by day, Mrs. B. at evening, and we have thus two copies of the new edition."[228] Thus the publication of them was further delayed.

---

[226] Extracts from the Journal of the Society's Missionary, p. 3.

[227] Ibid., p. 5.

[228] Ibid., p. 29.

In those days, Bettelheim's language learning must not have been entirely satisfactory due to the intensification of persecution upon him and to the departure of the Chinese interpreter, Liu. After Liu left, Bettelheim had hardly finished even one single volume of the Chinese classics during the next few years.[229] He increasingly felt the necessity of hiring another Chinese interpreter. He stated the situation to his friends in China: "There is also much writing to be done with compradores and with the authorities . . . . Some dispatches occupy me an evening and forenoon in composing, inscribing in my copy-book, and writing out a fair copy to be forwarded."[230] The coveted Chinese interpreter was not hired soon, and he had to wait for another four years until a new Chinese interpreter was employed.

Bettelheim's medical service was as popular as ever among the natives. For the neglected people under the yoke of feudalism, Bettelheim's medical service was most blessed. However, in the period treated in this chapter, the official interference with his service in medicine were as frequent and severe as those against his missionary work. As the government tightened its control over Bettelheim's activities, patients gradually ceased to visit the temple for medicines. Consequently, the doctor went out to visit patients at their houses. In those days most of his treatment of patients was done in this way. To this method, the officials counteracted severely as well.

---

[229] Entry of Apr. 6, 1853, Diary of Bettelheim.

[230] "Letter from B.J. Bettelheim," The Chinese Repository, p. 86.

On October 22, 1848, for instance, Bettelheim visited a house in Naha during his door-to-door visits. The master of the house lay on a bed of illness. Since he did not carry proper medicines at that time, Bettelheim promised to bring medicines the following day. The master refused his proposal as directed previously by the authorities. When the doctor returned to the house with medicines next day, the patient was absent. Thus Bettelheim left the medicine there.[231] For fear of the officials, the patient was removed from the house temporarily. The medicines were confiscated by the officials.

A similar case occurred on November 13, 1850. As in the previous case, Bettelheim gave medicines to a patient, who suffered from syphilitic sores. Two days later, upon his return to the house, the doctor found the doors closed. Though he forced his way into the house, the patient had already been removed from there. At his third visit, two days later, Bettelheim was able to meet the patient, who however stubbornly refused to receive medical treatment from the former. Thus, Bettelheim left him some Chinese coins.[232]

---

[231] Report of the State Councillors to the Clan Councillors of Satsuma, Nov. 30, 1850, Hyōjōjo Shorui.

Bettelheim's medical service has been recollected by the islanders especially for his care for a leprous patient in those days. Until the introduction of modern medical knowledge, people had been extremely afraid of the disease as elsewhere in the world. One day he found a female patient, from whom even her husband and relatives kept away. The abandoned woman was quite surprised to see a strange priest near her bed. As Bettelheim noted: "I took a box of ointment to a poor leprous woman, who was much in need of it, and who burst into tears as she saw it, exclaiming, 'Oh! Sir! this will take much money!'"[233] After the treatment, Bettelheim told her about the grace of

---

[232] Ibid.

[233] "Letter from B.J. Bettelheim," The Chinese Repository, p. 37.

God, and she felt really saved. But, when Bettelheim visited the house next day, she had already been removed from the house by the officials.[234]

The official ban of Bettelheim's medical service was applied not only for individual patients but also for environmental sanitation. During March,1849, they had unusually long and heavy rains. The water of open wells of his own household and of the neighborhood became scarcely drinkable from the mud washed in. Consequently, Bettelheim offered the magistrate of Naha twenty dollars so as to have curbs and covers made for the wells of the neighborhood. Again, the donation was returned to Bettelheim under some pretext.[235] However frequently he was disturbed, Bettelheim did not give up his medical service to people. Perhaps he got used to being patient with such inhumane acts of the officials.

As mentioned, Bettelheim was able to secure the so-called "official" letter from Captain Shedden of the *Nancy Dawson* in May, 1849. According to Bettelheim's observation, the letter had some influence in curbing the official interruption to his medical service, because his offer of medicine in two cases was "accepted and used with good effect" after the departure of the ship.[236] Unfortunately, the effect was only temporary. Disturbances resumed as severely as before.

---

[234] Nakachi Kikō, "Betteruhaimu hakase to Ishi Sung Ching-shen Nakachi _chikudon-pēchin_ Kijin no Koto [Account on Dr. Bettelheim and Dr. Sung Ching-shen Nakachi _chikudon-pēchin_ Kijin]," Department of Education, Government of the Ryukyu Islands, comp., _Betteruhaimu_ [Bettelheim], Naha, 1954, pp. 9-10. Hereafter cited as _Betteruhaimu_.

[235] "Letter from B.J. Bettelheim," _The Chinese Repository_, p. 83.

The state of affairs was still the same in the year 1850. In mid-1850, another unpleasant event occurred. On the last day of June, he performed an operation for cataract on one eye of a servant of a *samurai*. The servant had been blind in both eyes for ten years. Bettelheim made arrangements with the patient to enable him to remain on his back for a few days. Within the same day, the poor man was removed from the house by the officials.[237] When Bettelheim returned there next day, he could not see the patient.

Again, Bettelheim's repeated petitions met no sincere response from the authorities. This event was regarded as unpardonable to Bettelheim, becoming later the third complaint which Captain Cracroft presented with the other eight complaints to the Ryukyuan officials on October 5 of the same year, as mentioned. Despite his protest, Bettelheim could not treat the poor man again.

---

[236] *Ibid*.

[237] Two letters of Kanegusuku *pēchin* to Kabira *pēchin*, July 22 and 23, 1850, *Hyōjōjo Shorui*.

About this time, Satsuma sent the recent report on Bettelheim to the Bakufu as follows: "After the departure of the French [LeTurdu], the Englishman [Bettelheim] stays quite peacefully. Sometimes, whenever [he] sees outcastes or blind men, [he] proposed them medical treatment or gave them ointment and cakes."[238]

The report touched on the outcaste. The kingdom had the outcastes called chyondarā (similar to the eta caste in Japan proper). These people gradually learned of Bettelheim's philanthrophic treatment for the poor, unprivileged, disregarded people at the bottom of the Ryukyuan feudal society. They visited Bettelheim so frequently that zaiban bugyō had to warn Shuri not to let the outcastes meet Bettelheim. Consequently, Shuri issued a special order to that effect among the district officials of Naha in

---

[238] Shimazu Narioki, Lord of Satsuma, to the Bakufu, Aug. 5, 1850, cited in Tokutomi, op. cit., p. 413.

February, 1848.[239] However, from the above report of the Lord of Satsuma to Edo, we see this kind of people were still visiting Bettelheim for medicines and necessities despite the ban issued two and a half years before.

---

[239] Dispatch from Oroku pēchin to District Magistrates of Shuri, Mayor of Naha, and Superintendent of Foreign Affairs, Feb. 14, 1848, Hyōjōjo Shorui.

CHAPTER FOUR

AFTER THE REYNARD (Oct. 1850 - July 1854)

1. The stalemate after the visit of the Reynard

The visit of the Reynard gradually changed the Ryukyuan attitude toward Bettelheim. After October, 1850, the authorities received more official letters from Great Britain and met more Western warships and vessels than in the previous years. All this affected the Ryukyuan authorities psychologically as a pressure. Such being the case, the authorities began to realize that to remove the Bettelheim from the island was practically impossible; and a mood of resignation gradually prevailed among the officials. Therefore, in the period treated in this chapter, one can see a "Salutary Neglect" on the side of the authorities of Bettelheim's activities.

It does not however lead to a hasty assumption that Bettelheim's missionary enterprise flourished in those days. The anti-Christian policy was still in effect; Bettelheim was under the same surveillance as before. The people were driven away at the appearance of the missionary, and all goods Bettelheim distributed were confiscated from the people and returned to Bettelheim by the officials. The difference between the periods before and after the visit of the Reynard was that the officials lost much of their enthusiasm to take further steps to expel the missionary from the island. In the latter part of Bettelheim's stay, they simply followed routine measures set up during the previous years.

The first incident signified the period after the visit of the Reynard was the martyrdom of Satchi Hama (Sakihama). In his account of Bettelheim, Dr. Kerr commented on the incident as obscure.[1] Despite his refutation, the story is clear and there are ample documents to prove the event. The martyr was a guard assigned to the Bettelheims. His uncle was also a guard and a believer in Christianity. Both were among the regular attendants of Bettelheim's Sunday sermons. Satchi Hama was about twenty-two years old when he became a believer in Christianity.[2] Since there were other inquirers in Christianity besides Satchi Hama, the young man must have shown his faith in the new religion to the extent that the authorities could not pass him over in silence.

---

[1] George H. Kerr, Okinawa: The History of an Island People, Rutland, Vermont, and Tokyo, Japan, 1965, p. 288.

[2] Letter from Bettelheim to Peter Parker, p. 34.

Under pressure from Shuri, Satchi Hama's stepfather had to confine the young man in a prison, which was temporarily set up in his own yard in November, 1850. The stepfather did so under the pretext of the stepson's mental illness. The case took place within one month after the Reynard left the island. The young man was not punished by the authorities but by his own family. Having seen the strength shown by the British warship, Shuri refrained from punishing Satchi Hama by official action for fear of a possible retaliatory act of Great Britain. Had the Stachi Hama incident happened in Japan proper at that time, he must have been immediately subjected to the capital punishment by the authorities.

Satchi Hama lived in the Ryukyus where rigid law enforcement was then considered extremely perilous under the situations stated previously. Therefore, he was confined by his family as a mad man and given a chance to abandon his faith in Christianity. His stepfather and neighbors chastised him daily by sticks and starvation. Though the young man was given almost three months to change his mind, he declined the offer stubbornly. Bettelheim met Satchi Hama several times after the latter's imprisonment. On November 24, 1850, Bettelheim entered in his journal:

> To-day, we saw him [Satchi Hama] through a break in his dark, stinking dungeon, the feet each passing separately through a hole in a beam, by which he is fixed. He told us, he was kept very low in food, that he should soon die, and repeatedly declared he had done no evil to any, except that he spoke as I speak, "Jasu [Jesus], Jasu." . . . we passed cake after cake through the opening . . . .[3]

When the couple visited the young man four days later, from afar they heard Satchi Hama shouting to someone, "Jesus is true, Jesus is true! Why do you beat me! Jesus is true." Satchi Hama told the couple later that his stepfather and neighbors beat him on the head with sticks. Since the stepfather and neighbors would eventually kill him, the unhappy young man expressed his desire to go to England. Furthermore, he asked the Bettelheims to visit him every Sunday and to give him a Christian book in order to refresh his faith while in the prison.

Under these circumstances, Satchi Hama's health gradually declined. At last, when Bettelheim visited the prison on January 26, 1851, the young man had been removed. Bettelheim was informed that Satchi Hama was sent to the northern section of the island because of his illness. Being greatly alarmed about the young man, Bettelheim presented a petition to Shuri immediately. Bettelheim must have thought since Satchi Hama was chastised by his stepfather, not by the officials, Shuri could relieve the unhappy man. Bettelheim stated how he was a good Christian and was suffering from torture. He begged Shuri for the permission to meet Satchi Hama, stating: "It is a father who prays to be permitted to see and console his beloved child -- a shepherd who has to protect his lamb. I extremely hope my prayer will not be refused."[4]

---

[3] _Extracts from the Journal of the Society's Missionary_, pp. 56-57.

Since Shuri was the real offender against the native Christian, Bettelheim could not receive any relief from the authorities. It was a matter of regret for Bettelheim that he did not baptize Satchi Hama before the latter was removed. Since the stepfather was also the guard, Bettelheim asked him about the whereabouts of the young man, warning that if he did not tell the truth, "he [the stepfather] would be made responsible for all consequences, as soon as a foreign ship arrive."[5] The stepfather soon disappeared from his post,and Bettelheim lost all contact with the young man.

---

[4] Petition of Bettelheim to the *tsung li ta ch'ên*, Jan. 27, 1851, *Po-tê-ling Wang Fu Wên*, v. I, pp. 183-85, and also *Extracts from the Journal of the Society's Missionary*, pp. 59-60.

Bettelheim gradually realized that Satchi Hama might be dead and feared what he had done for the young man. He thus wrote on March 2:

> My heart bleeds, yet it is my duty to witness the Gospel of God to the Loochooans, be the immediate consequences ever so painful. Witness poor Satchi Hama. Shall I call myself his murderer, because through me grace is given him to make good profession of Christ Jesus?[6]

It was March 13 when Bettelheim was informed of the death of Satchi Hama. Ironically, the day was the birthday of Mrs. Bettelheim. The news was heedlessly told by an interpreter. At the next moment, Mrs. Bettelheim burst out in tears.[7] Thus, Satchi Hama became the first martyr for Christianity since the 1622 incident in the Ryukyus. The young man was declared mad by his stepfather, because he stated clearly that he preferred Jesus to parents and the Mandarins.

---

[5] Letter from Bettelheim to Peter Parker, p. 36.

[6] Extracts from the Journal of the Society's Missionary, p. 19.

[7] Entry of March 13, 1851, Copied Diary of Bettelheim.

Five months later, Bettelheim had a chance to meet the martyr's mother, "who looked death-like, groaning in deep sighs, not a word to be got out of her." To this disheartened old woman, the missionary said:

> Follow . . . the example of the saint martyred. He preferred death in Jesus to the offer of life in idolatry. He is now sainted, yet who will say he should be worshipped! His crown of glory is brighter than mine; but do I, therefore, tell you, should burn incense to him? And will you still dare burn incense before the grave?[8]

We do not know whether the pagan woman was consoled by the missionary's words. He just recorded, "No answer but groans."

One may think under these circumstances Bettelheim would not have any audience for his Sunday preachings at all. Or, one may suppose that the people showed "tolerant indifference" to the missionary after reading Dr. Kerr's account. Dr. Kerr states that the people paid attention to Bettelheim from their innate courtesy and curiosity only for the first few months of his arrival, and after that time they gradually became indifferent to Bettelehim.[9] The actual situation was quite the contrary. The people showed their interest in the new religion not only for the first few months after his arrival but for the entire eight year period of his stay on the island as Bettelheim's minute diaries amply indicate.

---

[8] Extracts from the Journal of the Society's Missionary, pp. 60-61.

[9] Kerr, op. cit., p. 286.

The peak of persecution was over, and Bettelheim could meet the people more frequently than before. On November 3, 1850, for example, he did his missionary work without any interruption. He first spent an hour at the guardhouse for prayer and a sermon. Then, he went out with Mrs. Bettelheim for the door-to-door calls. At four doors, the couple was willingly received by the families. During the tour, they dropped in at the school as they did before.

In addition, he was able to deliver sermons on the street, which Bettelheim had not been able to do since the state funeral incident. The first street preaching was done in the lane of a smith, one of Bettelheim's friends. Soon, the audience increased as he preached. As he recorded:

> There were women among the group of attentive Smith and their boys, listening with serious attention. I often tell my hearers . . . all are alike before Jesus . . . . Mrs. Bettelheim tells me, she sees the women greatly pleased, nodding to each other, whenever I take their part. The same audience adjourned to another

corner and received an increase . . . .[10]

Another street preaching was also held in front of the house of another friends, who always showed a friendly attitude to the couple. As he began to preach, the audience gradually increased, mostly consisting of women and children. It was really a blessed day for Bettelheim. The events of the day reminded him of the days of the "Golden Age." These also indicate that if there had been no official interruption, the people were willing to meet the foreign priest and to listen to what he spoke in their own language.

The events of November 3 were not merely incidental, because the entry of October 20, two weeks before the above events, recorded his visit to six doors and a good hearing at the four doors. The four people told Bettelheim that they prayed to Jesus Christ daily as Bettelheim taught.[11] Judging from the account, they were Bettelheim's friends or acquaintances, who were often visited by the missionary. Again, a week after the blessed day, on November 10, Bettelheim read the Japanese translation of the Gospel of John with guards in the morning. Later, the couple went for door-to-door visits. Their old friends could repeat to Bettelheim several articles of the Apostle's Creed. The man however recited these in a low voice. At Bettelheim's inquiry, the man explained to him that "the people have to suffer for every word they speak to me [Bettelheim]." But the missionary was informed that "he [the native] kept in his heart [what] he had learned, -- he did not now worship the *guansu* [the ancestral diety], and prayed to Jesus, confessing his sins."[12]

---

[10] *Extracts from the Journal of the Society's Missionary*, pp. 12-13.

[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 10-11.

The next day, November 11, an event which signaled the period after the *Reynard* took place -- a banquet given to Bettelheim by the Ryukyuan authorities. A week before, in an effort to improve the relationship between him and Shuri, Bettelheim had sent presents, worth a hundred and fifty dollars (Mexican), to the *tsung li ta ch'ên* and other officials. The banquet was given him by the *tsung li ta ch'ên* in return for his presents.

In the morning of the day, an official was sent to hand Bettelheim the letters of thanks from the *tsung li ta ch'ên* for the present. Later, another official came to escort Bettelheim to the feast. The mayor of Naha received the missionary cordially at the door of the Public Office of Naha. About fifteen officials were at the banquet. After dinner, the return-presents were handed over to Bettelheim.[13] The banquet certainly produced a conciliatory feeling between the two parties to some degree.

---

[12] *Ibid.*, pp. 14-15.

Now, it was Bettelheim's turn to offer a banquet for the tsung li ta ch'ên. A month preparation was made for it. Bettelheim was excited to receive the first dignitary of the island, for his previous invitations to the same official had all been refused. In order to please the guest, he wrote several couplets in Chinese which were pasted on the pillars of the Bettelheim's residence. One of the couplets read as follows:

> Like when the morning clouds disperse,
> The world welcomes the sunny heaven,
> Now our griefs are vanished,
> The foreign family welcome the kind high Rulers.[14]

Other couplets were -- "Welcome to the guests"; "The acceptable year of the Lord comes"; "Out of Jesus there is no salvation"; "All nations of the four seas are best off when friends," etc.

---

[13] Ibid., pp. 39-40.

[14] Ibid., p. 40.

On November 25, the procession of the *tsung li ta ch'ên* arrived at the Bettelheims about noontime. Bettelheim's neighborhood was full of spectators watching the unusual event. After the greeting between the Bettelheims and the Ryukyuans, both parties exchanged presents. Seeing the Ryukyuan's ignorance of Western things, such as clocks, coffee, etc., Bettelheim commented about the so-called first dignitary and other high-ranking officials of the kingdom as follows:

> This, and the general childish behaviour of these first rulers in the country, lead me to believe the actual government lies in Japan, or Japanese overlookers residing in Loochoo and that the Loochooan Mandarins are only puppets shown before the people, to make them believe they had rulers of their own. Otherwise I am quite unable to conceive how the kind of rulers we come in contact with are able to rule the country . . . .[15]

This invitation also promoted the relation between Bettelheim and Shuri. However, it did not lead to the entire amelioration of the unbearable conditions of Bettelheim's missionary work. Bettelheim was cordially treated as a guest of the country, but his missionary work was never sanctioned by Shuri. The official interruption to his missionary work was already resumed in December, 1850, as Bettelheim observed. Prior to

---

[15] *Ibid*., pp. 42-43.

Bettelheim's arrival at the town, doors and gates were locked, and the people were cleared from the streets.[16] The official disturbance, however, affected the people, not Bettelheim. Thus, Bettelheim could move more freely in the town than in previous years.

Since his reports and diaries show many instances of his contact with the natives, after the visit of the Reynard surveillance sometimes became a matter of formality. Especially after the visit of the tsung li ta ch'ên at the Bettelheims, the natives' fear of the official disturbance diminished to some extent. Whenever the patrols were not in sight, Bettelheim could find people who were interested in the foreign religion.

It was certain that Bettelheim could awake interest in Christianity among the natives bit by bit in those days. On February 6, 1851, for instance, Bettelheim and his wife went to the town. To their great surprise, at several streets, the couple heard the people shouting, "Kamingva Jesu, Shikennu matsiri. Jesus, the Son of God, the sacrifice of the World!" -- the words which the missionary used to repeat while preaching at the market.[17] The event certainly encouraged Bettelheim for his mission.

---

[16] Ibid., p. 15.

[17] Ibid., p. 17.

An entry about a month later, March 2, tells about a "believing carpenter." After his regular Sunday sermon at the guardhouse, Bettelheim visited the carpenter. With his daughter, the carpenter pleased the Bettelheims by an excellent hearing and reading, though someone called and threatened the father and the daughter outside the carpenter's.[18] With Bettelheim's guidance, the carpenter became one of several inquirers in Christianity.

One way of his guidances to the natives to turn their interest from the native religion to Christianity was to tell them about his background -- his conversion from Judaism to Christianity. In his letter to Peter Parker, dated March,1851, Bettelheim stated that he told the natives how he became a Christian and encouraged them to overcome difficulties and doubts in the process of conversion.[19] His confession seems to have deeply impressed the natives.[20] Though he became a Christian, Bettelheim did not lose his interest in the

---

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 18.

[19] *Letter from Bettelheim to Peter Parker*, p. 21.

[20] *Extracts from the Journal of the Society's Missionary*, p. 29.

Jews as a people. Mrs. Bettelheim witnessed later that among the motives of Bettelheim's application for the missionary to Okinawa, was his hope to find a trace of the lost "Ten Tribes" of Israel in the east.[21]

Here, we may take a brief view on his interest in the Jews. Since his arrival at Okinawa, Bettelheim had always kept the subject in mind. His keen interest in the subject led him to ask Father Forcade to make a study of it in Japan proper, when Bettelheim knew the French priest was about to start for Japan proper in July, 1846.[22] In Japan, Forcade had no chance to study it for Bettelheim because of his short stay there.

As he was acquainted with Ryukyuan customs, Bettelheim began to think the Ryukyuans were probably the descendants of the lost Ten Tribes of Israel. As he wrote: "By and by it becomes with me a matter of conscience to communicate to others my suspicions as to the Israelitish origin of this nation."[23] His report on the subject was first sent to the London Jews Society and published in the Jewish Intelligence. The LNM also reprinted the report for the supporters of the LNM in 1848.

---

[21] Testimony of a Missionary's Wife, pp. 119-20.

[22] Entry of July 6, 1846, Journal of Forcade.

[23] Entry of March 2, 1847, Diary of Bettelheim.

Bettelheim's study on the subject covered customs and manners, language, physiognomy of the natives, etc. For instance, Bettelheim picked the similar personal names in the two peoples, such as Moshi in the Ryukyuan being similar to Moses the Jew, Jona (Jonah), and Juji (Jew). He noted the custom of a bethrothed maiden being considered the real wife from the date of the betrothal by both families. Other similar customs and manners were also found -- the use of the lunar calendar, the duration of the day being twelve hours, the Adam and Eve tales, the keeping of the "Nanuka no Matsuri (seventh day festival)" until the forty-ninth day after the funeral. He thought the natives even had strong Jewish features.[24]

From the viewpoint of modern anthropology, it is hard to link the two peoples with Bettelheim's assertion. However, it is certain that there were similar manners and customs between the two, as the late Rev. Teruya found in his studies.[25] It is speculated that even before the first permanent Jewish settlement in China during the reign of Emperor Min-ti (A.D. 58-75) of the Han Dynasty, some Jews might have reached China as early as the days of King Solomon. Therefore, there is a possibility, though very small, that Jews might have been to the Ryukyus as well. It is interesting to note that in Japan proper scholars also found a resemblance between the religion and customs of the Japanese and those of the Jews.[26] Thus, some reached a hasty conclusion that the Japanese and the Jews were descended from one parental source.[27]

---

[24] See LNM, Notes Recently Received from Dr. Bettelheim and Published in the "Jewish Intelligence," 1848, London, 8 p.

For Bettelheim, the similarity between the manners and customs of the Jews and those of the

---

[25] See Teruya Kanpan, *Okinawa no Shūkyo, Dozoku* [The Religion and Local Customs of Okinawa], Naha, 1957, 114 p.

[26] See Bessho Umenosuke, *Seisho Minzoku Kō* [On the Races in the Bible], Tokyo, 1932, Yanagida Kunio, *Shintō no Minzoku Kō* [On Shintoism and the Nation], Tokyo, 1943, and Kume Kunitake, *Nihon Kodai to Shintō tono Kankei* [The Relation between Ancient Japan and Shintoism], Tokyo, 1939.

[27] Koyabe Zenichirō, *Nihon oyobi Nihon Kokumin no Kigen* [The Origin of Japan and the Japanese Nation], Tokyo, 1929, and Nakada Shigeharu, *Seisho yori Mitaru Nihon* [Japan Studied from Biblical Viewpoint], Tokyo, 1933.

Ryukyuan increased his enthusiasm in missionary work among the natives. Therefore, when Satchi Hama was punished by the stepfather, Bettelheim compared it with the Jewish fatherhood. As he wrote: "The bittnerness of the parents, and the whole kindred of Satchi Hama, are quite all Jewish, not even excepting their unnatural cruelty."[28] At any rate, the more he entertained friendly sentiments by acquainting himself with the customs, the more his sense of the mission for the people flared up.

The stumbling block for his missionary work was the government at Shuri. However, as he was acquainted with the system of the government, Bettelheim realized that the real objectors to his missionary work were the rulers in Japan proper, not entirely those on the island. His conviction was further strengthend when Bettelheim met the tsung li ta ch'ên and other high-ranking officials of the island in December, 1850.

Since the beginning of the year 1851, he contemplated the idea as to how to break down the real stumbling block against Christianity behind the scenes. His first idea was to make a united protest of

---

[28] *Extracts from the Journal of the Society's Missionary*, p. 58.

Westerners against Japan. It was occasioned by his righteous indignation on February 6, 1851. In a market, he gave some alms to a poor man, but these were immediately snatched away by the officials. Now, his blood boiled with indignation against "the hatred of Japan to anything called Christian," stating "Oh, arise, Christian nations, and vindicate the honour of your God!" His first idea against "such hateful laws against our religion" was thus stated in his diary as follows: "England, America, and France united would need only earnestly to remonstrate, and the scandal would cease in Japan as well as it has ceased in Turkey without any war."[29]

This idea was first expressed to his friend in China, Peter Parker, the next month. He stated: "She [Japan] has imitated the Berlin decree in principle . . . and if Napoleon was justly put down, Japan should at least be waited upon with a strong remonstrance of combined Christian powers . . . ."[30] Up to this time, his idea was to press Japan diplomatically on the subject. However, a conversation with Ichirazichi, which took place in April, caused his idea to develop further. At the dinner of the Bettelheims, the chief interpreter explained to Bettelheim about how Japan massacred native Christians two hundred years before and concluded that Japan was stronger than the whole of Christian countries together. In addition, Bettelheim found that other interpreters generally thought that the evacuation of LeTurdu was occasioned by the pressure of the Chinese Emperor.[31] From the above events, Bettelheim began to doubt about the opening of Japan for Christianity and trade diplomatically.

---

[29] _Ibid._, p. 17.

[30] _Letter from Bettelheim to Peter Parker_, p. 3.

By August of the same year, the opening of Japan to the west was strongly felt to be essential for the eventual success of his missionary work in Okinawa. Especially, he watched the development of American and European activities in the Pacific area after the gold rush in California. Thus, in August he sent a letter to the chairman of the LNM committee, G. Robert Clarke, calling the special attention of the LNM to the subject for the sake of Protestantism.[32] One year later, September, 1852, in his letter to the editor of the

---

[31] Extracts from the Journal of the Society's Missionary, p. 86.

[32] Letter of Bettelheim to G. Robert Clark, Aug. 1, 1851, cited in LNM, Mission to Loo-Choo, London, 1850, pp. 3-4.

Illustrated London News, Bettelheim expressed a more developed idea on the subject, stating: "There must be a constant pressure of mighty Christian powers on Japan's bolt."[33] This was his idea about the opening of Japan as far as he could develop it. He did not favor further steps beyond this point, as his letter to Bishop Smith revealed. In the letter, he made it clear that he was far from approving "an armed intervention" as "the whole solution of the Japanese question."[34]

Here, we must state about the so-called real offenders against Christianity -- the rulers in Japan proper. During the period treated in this chapter, there was no drastic change of the policies of the Bakufu or Satsuma toward the foreigners in the Ryukyus. The Bakufu had fully entrusted the problem to Satsuma. In Satsuma, the originator of the basic policy, Shimazu Nariakira, succeeded his father as the Lord of Satsuma in March, 1851. When Nariakira was given an audience with the shōgun for his succession on March 30, the Bakufu especially ordered Nariakira to remove Bettelheim from the island.[35]

---

[33] Bettelheim to the editor of the Illustrated London News, Sept. 28, 1852, Bettelheim's Letters.

[34] Bettelheim to Bishop Smith, Sept. 29, 1852, ibid.

However, the progressive-minded Nariakira did not accept the order blindly. He had already contemplated the opening of Japan through the Ryukyus. Nariakira secretly asked his friend, Date Munenari (the Lord of Iyo Uwajima) to sound out the views of the State Councillor of the Bakufu, Abe Masahiro, on the subject. Nariakira's idea was as follows. Satsuma would order the Ryukyus to ask China's aid for the removal of the Bettelheims. In case China failed to remove the family diplomatically, trade between the Ryukyus and England should be opened tentatively in an effort to prevent England from approaching Japan proper directly.[36]

Date Numenari, in compliance with Nariakira's will, met Abe Masahiro on March 30, 1851. At the secret meeting, Date succeeded in persuading the State Councillor of the Bakufu to accept fully Nariakira's plan for the Ryukyus. As the decision of 1846, which allowed the Ryukyuan trade with France under an unavoidable circumstance, this time, too, Abe Masahiro entirely entrusted the Ryukyuan problem to the Lord of Satsuma.[37] Thus, Satsuma, as the ruler of the Ryukyus, could open trade with England through the Ryukyus. Unfortunately for England, especially for Bettelheim, the decision was made too late. Palmerston's proposal for trade had been rejected by the Ryukyuan leaders in December, 1849. After that, Palmerston did not press the Ryukyus on the subject any more.

---

[35] Kagoshima Ken [Kagoshima Prefecture], comp., Kagoshima Kenshi [History of Kagoshima Prefecture], v. III, Tokyo, 1941, p. 126.

[36] Tokutomi, op. cit., pp. 450-51.

Meanwhile, the leaders in Japan looked to China for the removal of Bettelheim. What was China as the patron of the Ryukyu Kingdom doing about this time? Of course, she did her best for the solution of the problem but could hardly move England for the removal of the Bettelheims. On November 18, 1850, the Provincial Treasurer of Fukien received a petition from the Heir Apparent of the Ryukyus on the subject. The letter recounted the Ryukyuan failures to remove the Bettelheims on the occasions of the visit of the Pilot and the Reynard. Upon receiving the petition, the Chinese official was at a loss, because the negotiation with the English representative at Canton did not progress toward what the Ryukyus expected. Prior to that time, the Imperial Commissioner, Hsü, received a disappointing letter from the British Plenipotentiary, Bonham. It coldly asserted that his office exercised jurisdiction over only the five treaty ports and did not extend over the Ryukyus. Though the governor of Fukien pressed the Imperial Commissioner on further negotiations with Bonham, there was no sign of the development of negotiations on the subject at Canton. Consequently, in January, 1851, the governor of Fukien asked Peking for the opening of negotiations of Hsü with Bonham for the sake of the "faithful" tribute state, the Ryukyus.[38]

---

[37] Memo. of Date Munenari on the conversation with Abe Masahiro, March 30, 1851, Shimazu Nariakira Monjo, v. II, pp. 164-66.

In Peking, the Board of Rites received another petition on the same subject from a Ryukyuan mission in the next month. Realizing its importance for Chinese prestige, the imperial sanction was thus granted to order the Imperial Commissioner in Canton for further negotiation with Bonham.[39] Notwithstanding the order, Hsü did not show any enthusiasm on the subject. As stated before, Hsü was indifferent to the improvement of the foreign relations of China. His memorial in March revealed his dispostion clearly. Hsü stated that he had already received Bonham's letter, in which Bonham evaded his responsibility for the problem because the matter was outside his authority. Seeing Bonham's reply, Hsü thought it was not wise to make inquiries as to the subject to Bonham any more, probably for fear of further troubles with England. In the end, Hsü recommended the same policy as Ch'i-ying did -- to leave the Bettelheims isolated on the island and to leave the island eventually.[40]

---

[38] Jan. 9, 1851, Memorial of the Governor of Fukien, Hsü Chi-yu, IWSM, HF (the Hsien-feng series, 1851-61) 3; 33 b, 9 - 36 b, 10.

[39] Feb. 25, 1851, Memorial of the Board of Rites and Edict to the Grand Council, ibid., HF 4; 3 b, 6-6, b, 6.

Hsü's letter did not satisfy the Provincial Treasurer of Fukien, but he had no choice but to write Shuri that the matter was properly entrusted to the Imperial Commissioner.[41] Without knowing Hsü's indifference to the problem, Shuri must have read the letter from the Provincial Treasurer with joy. However, in facing a new situation developed since the dispatch of the last petition, Shuri soon had to write another petition to China. On June 25, a Ryukyuan junk conveyed a message from the British consular agent at Tuchow (Fuchou?) regarding Bettelheim. It informed the missionary that the British Plenipotentiary in China would shortly visit Okinawa. Five days later, Bettelheim surprised Shuri by sending a letter about the subject. Furthermore, he asked Shuri to make preparations to receive the British envoy. The preparation was to consist of five items: 1) a large temple in Shuri should be offered for the visitors, 2) Bettelheim's residence should be repaired before the arrival of the British envoy, 3) another two or three houses should be offered for the visitors, 4) the authorities should provide fine furniture for those places, and 5) the proper number of native personnel should be assigned to those places.[42]

---

[40] March 30, 1851, Memorial of the Imperial Commissioner, Hsü Kuang-chin, IWSM, HF 4; 7 a, 8 - 18 b, 5.

[41] The Provincial Treasurer to Heir Apparent of the Ryukyus, Shang, June 7, 1851, Li Tai Pao An.

On July 2, the panic-stricken tsung li ta ch'ên and the pu chêng ta fu visited the Bettelheims and handed over a letter of refusal of Bettelheim's five proposals on one pretext or another.[43] Bettelheim however did not yield. Next day, he sent another letter of refutation to Shuri, asking the repair of his residence.[44] Shuri now accepted the new proposal. Thus, until July 5, about twenty carpenters were sent to the temple to make repairs. At any rate, Shuri began to worry about the coming of the British envoy.

---

[42] Bettelheim to the tsung li kuan, June 30, 1851, Po-tê-ling Wang Fu Wên, v. I, pp. 233-237.

[43] The tsung li ta ch'ên, Shang Ta-mo, and the pu chêng ta fu, Ma Liang-ts'ai, to Bettelheim, July 2, 1851, ibid., pp. 239-42.

Another event which discouraged Shuri occurred, when a European ship visited Okinawa in August. The ship was called the Rose (Captain Andresen). Since a Ryukyuan document recorded the identity of the ship in ambiguous Chinese characters, many scholars have been puzzled in identifying the ship. In the document, the nationality of the ship is spelled "Je [pronounced as "re"]-mo-ni kuo (熱麼呢國)."[45] The late Professor Higaonna identified it to be a Spanish (Isupania) ship.[46] Though he carefully defers his final decision about the nationality, Professor Yoshida also conjectures about it as a Hungarian or Rumanian ship.[47]

In Bettelheim's diary, the present writer finds a clue to the puzzle. As it is recorded on August 16: "At twelve the brig was at anchor. Flag as I never saw. Fortunately, have [an] oldish book with cuts of flags; [it] looks like Hamborough [Hamburg] flag."[48] Though the ship left Singapore for California, she was damaged by a strong typhoon on the way. It visited the island for repairs. Next day was the Lord's day. Bettelheim prepared a sermon text in German. The service was conducted on board the _Rose_. Therefore, the _Rose_ must have been a Hamburg ship, or at least a ship of the German speaking countries.

---

[44] Bettelheim to the tsung li ta ch'ên, July 3, 1851, ibid., pp. 243-46.

[45] Letter of Matsudō pēchin to Oroku pēchin, Aug. 28, 1851, Hyōjōjo Shorui.

[46] Higaonna Kanjun, Sho Tai Kō Jitsuroku [The Authentic Record on Marquis Sho Tai], Tokyo, 1924, p. 42.

[47] Yoshida, op. cit., part 3, p. 6.

Since the Ryukyuan authorities thought the ship belonged to Bettelheim's native country (Hungary), they asked Captain Andresen for the removal of the Bettelheims. Later, the captain disclosed the Ryukyuan request to Bettelheim. According to the story of the captain, "The Mandarins promised him [the captain] all _he could wish_, in case he took us [the Bettelheims] off the island."[49] To the Ryukyuans' great disappointment, the captain refused the Ryukyuan offer.

---

[48] _Extracts from the Journal of the Society's Missionary_, p. 22.

[49] _Ibid_.

Being greatly alarmed at the news about the visit of the British Plenipotentiary and despaired of Captain Andresen's refusal, Shuri prepared a new petition to the Provincial Treasurer on the day when the Rose left the island, August 29. Having stated the two disheartening events, it called the attention of the Treasurer to the Ryukyuan fear that in case the British Plenipotentiary visited the island, Bettelheim would become more imprudent and serve as an agent of the British envoy.[50]

The Treasurer received the petition on November 15 and transmitted it to Peking. On February 12, 1852, the imperial sanction was granted for the further negotiation of the Imperial Commissioner with the British Plenipotentiary.[51] This time, Hsü showed his sincerity to some degree. When he approached the British representative, Hsü found that Bonham had left Hongkong for England. The responsible official next to Bonham was the consul at Canton, John Bowring. Bowring utterly declined to discuss the subject on the ground that the duty of the consul covered only matters of the five treaty ports and trade, and that the Bettelheim affair must be properly handled by the Ryukyuan king, not by the British consul at Canton. The news of Hsü's fruitless negotiation reached Fukien on June 24, 1852.[52]

---

[50] Heir Apparent of the Ryukyus, Shang, to the Provincial Treasurer of Fukien, Aug. 29, 1851, Li Tai Pao An.

[51] The Provincial Treasurer of Fukien to Heir Apparent of the Ryukyus, Shang, May 29, 1852, ibid.

Thus, several attempts made by the Imperial Commissioners on the subject did not succeed in moving the British representative in China. After the failure of Hsü's attempt in mid-1852, the situation was worsened by the rebellious state of the Celestial Empire. Already, the T'ai P'ings consolidated their position on the borders of Kwangsi and Kwangtung in the winter of 1851-52. The rebellion was spreading to the north in the fall of 1852. As the governor general of the two provinces, Hsü was too busy to handle the problem in the remote island kingdom. It was natural that the development of the rebellion in the patron country increased the uneasiness of the Ryukyuan leaders to the Chinese influence over the removal of the Bettelheims.

In those days, Bettelheim continued his tireless missionary work as before. The officials followed him as well, nipping in the bud what Bettelheim sowed.

---

[52] Extracts from the Journal of the Society's Missionary, pp. 19.

His diary reveals that Bettelheim found many inquirers in Christianity, but that the official surveillance did not give enough time to let those grow well. On February 18, 1851, for instance, Bettelheim found one of the inquirers missing with all his family. The man was a slipper-maker. The man had been an inquirer in the new religion for the past two years. Bettelheim found the house empty and locked.[53] Another inquirer, a mat-maker, was also removed from his house with his family in March, 1851. Five months later, Bettelheim had a chance to see the mat-maker again. The man was safe but removed from the old house because of his intimate relations with Bettelheim.[54]

To these official disturbances, Bettelheim also must have accelerated his door-to-door visits as a counteraction. Thus, he again received a letter of remonstrance from Shuri on May 9, According to the letter, Bettelheim forced his way into native houses on April 20 and May 4, scaring women and children.[55] To this, the missionary refuted that he and Mrs.

---

[53] Extracts from the Journal of the Society's Missionary, pp. 19.

[54] Ibid., pp. 19, 21.

[55] District Official of Naha, Chêng Ch'ang-lieh, to Bettelheim, May 9, 1851, Po-tê-ling Wang Fu Wên, v. I, pp. 217-19.

Bettelheim entered the houses after knocking at the doors, and that he did the door-to-door visits because of the official interference with his street preaching.[56]

After the middle of 1851, he found more inquirers in Christianity. One of the interpreters, Aragatchi, became an earnest man in the new religion. On July 1, the interpreter talked about God in front of other interpreters, mentioning "the name of Jesus as the giver of all things, whom it was right all men should thank for life and sustenance."[57] The "believing carpenter," whom Bettelheim made an inquirer in March,1851,[58] became a more earnest seeker for God by September. Besides the carpenter, there was an old couple who were earnestly urged to profess the faith.[59] Bettelheim soon found that the couple were the carpenter's friends. By November 21, one of his servants, called Nāzato, became earnest for the new religion.[60]

---

[56] Bettelheim to the District Official of Naha, May 10, 1851, ibid., pp. 221-28.

[57] Extracts from the Journal of the Society's Missionary, p. 23.

[58] See p. 281.

[59] Extracts from the Journal of the Society's Missionary, p. 23.

[60] Ibid., p. 24.

Judging from the above evidences, the surveillance over Bettelheim's activities must have become less rigid in those days than the first half of 1851, in which Satchi Hama died, and the two families were removed from Bettelheim's reach. No such persecutions were recorded in his journal after mid-1851. When the year 1851 was about to close with these blessed events for Bettelheim, an outrage, though accidental, was waiting for the couple.

On December 5, Bettelheim and his wife went out for their medical service to the small-pox patients. As they passed through the town, patrols ordered the people to close gates and doors. The couple happened to enter a house, where some Satsuma samurai stayed upstairs. Since nobody received the couple there, they left the house. The outrage fell on them after that time. A group of Satsuma soldiers surrounded the couple. By mistake, the soldiers thought the couple stole a sword belonging to the soldier from the house. Together with native patrols, the soldiers searched and then assaulted the couple without stating the reason. The couple was attacked twice by the soldiers and the patrols. After the withdrawal of the vandals, some natives took the couple home.[61]

---

[61] *Ibid*., pp. 52-53.

Next day Bettelheim sent a letter of protest to Shuri. The reply from Shuri came six days later, December 12. It not only refuted Bettelheim's allegation but remonstrated to him about the incident as the natural consequence of Bettelheim's misdeeds -- Bettelheim's practice of the door-to-door calls against governmental warning.[62] Up to that time, Mrs. Bettelheim had not left her sickbed since the day of the assault. The infuriated missionary of course sent another letter of strong protest next day. He warned Shuri that if they could not look to the Bettelheim's safety, a grave problem, unfavorable to the Ryukyus, would occur between England and Japan. Next, he asked Shuri to punish the officials responsible for the incident.[63]

Shuri was adamant as well. No apology was expressed by the Ryukyuan until two months later, when another event compelled Shuri to beg Bettelheim's pardon for the incident. The incident was caused by mistake, over and above, by outsiders -- Satsuma _samurai_. Bettelheim firmly believed that the chief offenders were not the natives, and that it was an accidental occurrence. Therefore, his zeal for the mission did not diminish at all. As he wrote to his friend:

---

[62] The _pu chêng ta fu_, Ma Liang-ts'ai, to Bettelheim, Dec. 12, 1851, _Liu Ying Wang Fu Wên_.

[63] Bettelheim to the _tsung li kuan_, Dec. 13, 1851, _ibid_.

> The disciple is not greater than the master. If Jesus Christ was crucified, why shall his minister not be beaten? I crawled home lame when [I] could not walk, and was carried home when I could not crawl and still up to this time. Thank God, my limbs serve well.[64]

The natives still showed a friendly attitude toward Bettelheim's Sunday sermons even after the incident. On January 25, 1852, for example, after two street preachings he was asked by a youth for a memorial described "the sacrifice of Jesus" in Chinese. Bettelheim made it for the youth. At another preaching, one of the female audience recited in front of others what Bettelheim preached. At home, his young servant showed his enthusiasm in the Bible study.[65]

For Shuri, the new year 1852 opened with a humiliating event -- the visit of H.M.S. Sphinx (Captain Shadwell) in February. The visit of the Sphinx was occasioned by Palmerston's indignation to

---

[64] Bettelheim to Rev. John Hobson, Oct. 1, 1852, Bettelheim's Letters.

[65] Extracts from the Journal of the Society's Missionary, p. 27.

Shuri's reply to his letter, which was entrusted to the *Reynard* in October,1850. As mentioned before, Shuri asked Palmerston for the removal of the Bettelheims.[66] The enraged Foreign Secretary wrote a letter of protest to Shuri in January 2, 1851. It first refused to accept the Ryukyuan request for the removal of the family on the ground that "he [Bettelheim] had committed no offense which required that he should be removed; and, on the contrary, his good conduct entitles him to protection and good treatment." The Foreign Secretary expected Shuri to treat Bettelheim with kindness and hospitality. In addition, Palmerston informed Shuri that for the purpose of watching the Ryukyuan treatment of the family "a British ship of war, from time to time, will visit their islands."[67]

The delivery of the letter was delayed for almost one year. In China, Bonham tried to entrust the letter to Ryukyuan boats twice, in January and February, 1851, to no avail.[68] Then, the *Sphinx* cast anchor at

---

[66] See p. 250.

[67] The Foreign Secretary of the Great Britian, Palmerston, to the *tsung li ta ch'ên*, of the Ryukyus, Shang T'ing-pai, Jan. 2, 1851, *Po-tê-ling Wang Fu Wên*, v. I, pp. 270-73.

[68] W.G. Beasley, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

Naha on February 6. The visit of the big warship created another scare and confusion in the Ryukyuan officials. By February 10, Shuri did not know how to dispose of this unwelcome, but powerful visitor.

The first thing they did was to dispatch a letter to Bettelheim, expressing their apology to the incident in December, 1851.[69] Since the apology was delayed for two months and done on the occasion of the visit of the Sphinx, it is obvious that Shuri did it reluctantly in order to ease the hard feeling of the British. Of course, Bettelheim was willing to forgive Shuri.

Another matter to be handled on the day was to refuse the British proposal for the captain's visit to the Royal Palace. The Ryukyuan officials refused the proposal under the pretext that even the Chinese envoys were received at the Reception Hall in Naha.[70] Shuri proposed to the British for the reception of the letter first at the public office in Tomari, and then at a temple in Shuri. Captain Shadwell, however, insisted on his original proposal. Shuri offered a compromise -- the letter from Palmerston would be received at the Palace of the Crown Prince in front of the Royal Palace in Shuri. Bettelheim was also asked to render his good offices by Shuri for this purpose.[71] We do not know whether Bettelheim did so. At any rate, Captain Shadwell carried out his intention to visit the Royal Palace.

---

[69] The Regent (the tsung li ta ch'ên) and the Vice Administrator (the pu chêng ta fu) to Bettelheim, Feb. 10, 1852, Copied Diary of Bettelheim.

[70] The tsung li ta ch'ên, Shang Ta-mo, and the pu chêng ta fu, Ma Liang-ts'ai, to Captain Shadwell, Feb. 10, 1852, Po-tê-ling Wang Fu Wên, v. I, pp. 283-85.

Next day, the captain marched to the capital with fifty men, including forty armed marines. The meeting between the tsung li ta ch'ên and the captain took place at the Reception Hall, which was used especially for the reception of Chinese envoys. Palmerston's letter was handed to the Ryukyuan official. Orally, the captain requested the Ryukyuans for kind treatment to the Bettelheims including free access to the market. As to the propagation of Christianity, he asked Shuri for toleration for the natives who were interested in Christianity. After the meeting, a state dinner was offered to the British, who showed great satisfaction with the Ryukyuan entertainment.[72] A return-banquet on the next day was promised by Captain Shadwell to the Ryukyuans. The visit to the Palace ended peacefully.

---

[71] The Regent and the Vice Administrator to Bettelheim, Feb. 10, 1852, Copied Diary of Bettelheim.

The forceful visit of Captain Shadwell to the Royal Palace left a precedent, which was later followed by Commodore Perry in the next year. To the Ryukyuan leaders, who shared the contemptuous view of the Chinese to Westerners as barbarians, the visit of the captain at the palace on Feburary 10 was regarded as a national disgrace. Eventually, next year they appealed to their patron, China, for the protection of their national prestige.[73] It is certain that by their determined attitude toward the Ryukyuans, the visit of the *Sphinx* created a more favorable condition for Bettelheim's stay.

Bettelheim however did not see much advantage from the visit of the *Sphinx*. In his letter to Bishop Smith in September, 1852, Bettelheim belittled what Captain Shadwell did in February. His discontentment lay in the less forceful attitude of the captain than Bettelheim expected. He expected the captain for the complete solution regarding the Satchi Hama tragedy. Bettelheim thus concluded: "To make all the noise, the Sphinx made here simply for delivering a Dispatch in the Capital, without pressing any practical measure."[74]

---

[72] Letter of Kabira *pēchin* to Kanegushiku *pēchin*, Feb. 10, 1851, Eikoku Karinsen Raichaku Nikki [Day Book on the Visit of the English Steamer], *Hyōjōjo Shorui*.

[73] Letter of Heir Apparent of the Ryukyus, Shang, to the Provincial Treasurer of Fukien, Sept. 16, 1853, *Li Tai Pao An*.

On the other hand, there was an interpreter called T. Meadows in the Captain Shadwell's mission. Meadows was especially assigned the job by Bonham, who had little sympathy with Bettelheim, to the end that the Captain Shadwell's mission might realize its object without any interference from Bettelheim. Naturally, Meadows must have observed Bettelheim from critical viewpoint from the beginning. His report on Bettelheim was unfavorable to the missionary, stating that Bettelheim ~~was~~ imprudent and dictatorial. He further commented on Bettelheim to the effect that Bettelheim would undoubtedly obtain "a virtual dictatorship in the principality" unless the Foreign Office were particularly cautious as to the manner in which it supported him.[75] We do not know how Meadows reached such a conclusion on Bettelheim, who was under the constant surveillance by the authorities.

---

[74] Bettelheim to George Smith, Sept. 28, 1852, Bettelheim's Letters.

In England, Palmerston had already been succeeded by a new Foreign Secretary, the Earl of Granville, in December, 1851. Granville held the office for only two months, but he wrote a letter to Shuri for the better treatment of the Bettelheims on January 17.[76] However, Granville did not show any further interest in the Bettelheim problem. The letter was presented to Shuri through Bettelheim, who received it from a Ryukyuan junk from China, on June 26, 1852.

To this letter, the Ryukyuan official did not respond immediately. They must have felt boredom to the same kind of request from the Foreign Secretary. Finally, in September, Shuri asked Bettleheim for the transmission of their will to the Foreign Office through Bettelheim's pen. The content of Shuri's letter was the refusal of both the propagation of Christianity and trade with England.[77] Next day, Bettelheim refused Shuri's proposal lest he might be accused of forgery of an official document.[78]

---

[75] F.O. China Corres., v. 188, Meadows to Bonham, Feb. 26, 1852, in Bonham to For. Off., No. 34, Mar. 9, 1852, cited in W.G. Beasley, op. cit., p. 81.

[76] Granville to the tsung li ta ch'ên of the Ryukyus, Shang, Jan. 17, 1852, trans. in Hongkong, April 27, 1852, Po-tê-ling Wang Fu Wên, v. II, pp. 15-17.

In London, again, Granville had already been succeeded by the Earl of Malmesbury in February, 1852. In August, 1852, a deputation of the LNM had a chance to meet the new Foreign Secretary. During the interview, Malmesbury informed the man from LNM of his full support for the policies laid down by Palmerston.[79] Malmesbury however did not take any measure on behalf of Bettelheim during his term of office. During Bettelheim's eight year stay on the island, Palmerston was the only Foreign Secretary who showed interest, but not much, in the Bettelheim problem.

To Palmerston, then out of office, Bettelheim wrote a petition concerning the "Emancipation of Japan,"[80] in September, 1852. The letter accompanied another petition to Parliament, which also urged the opening of Japan for trade and Christianity. Having received Bettelheim's petitions, Palmerston sent the letters to the new Foreign Secretary, the Earl of Clarendon, who assumed the office in February, 1853. As his predecessors, Clarendon did not take any action for Bettelheim.[81]

---

[77] The _tsung li ta ch'ên_, Shang Ta-mo, and the _pu chêng ta fu_, Ma Liang-ts'ai, to Bettelheim, Sept. 8, 1852, _ibid_., v. II, pp. 21-25.

[78] Bettelheim to the _tsung li ta ch'ên_ and the _pu chêng ta fu_, Sept. 8, 1852, Copied Diary of Bettelheim.

[79] LNM, _Mission to Loo-Choo_, 1852, p. 2.

[80] F.O. _China Corres_., vol. 195, Bettelheim to Palmerston, Sept. 19, 1852, cited in Beasley, _op. cit_., p. 82.

Contrary to the current mood of Little Englandism, Bettelheim's mind was full of ideas on the expansion of Protestantism and English trade in East Asia. Shortly after he wrote his petition to Palmerston and Parliament, Bettelheim wrote a letter to the Illustrated London News concerning an English settlement on Okinawa. Fifty English families were to be settled on the island under the proper protection of the British government. Since the island was situated at a favorable communication point between Japan proper and Australia, or China and America, the settlement had all the elements for speedy prosperity.[82]

Meanwhile, the conditions for Bettelheim's missionary work were much improved toward the end of the year 1852. In his letter to a friend in China, dated October 1, Bettelheim stated that he usually spent two hours for Bible reading and discourse at the guardhouses before he went out for his regular Sunday street preachings. For the door-to-door visits, Bettelheim and his wife left their children at home for six to eight hours. They visited at least five native houses, sometimes twenty houses. During the prayer at the congregations, he sometimes opened his eyes to make sure of their sincere prayer and found that their eyes were often wet like his.[83] He also expressed his satisfactory state of mind to another friend in China, stating: "Nothing can equal my heavenly comfort when praying in a home or a house of the natives."[84]

---

[81] Beasley, op. cit., p. 82.

[82] Bettelheim to the Illustrated London News, Sept. 28, 1852, Copied Diary of Bettelheim.

Bettelheim's interest in those days was concentrated on propagation in the capital. The idea occupied his mind for a long time but had been delayed by official interference. His appeal for the dispatch of other missionaries to the LNM was to realize the idea. In his letter to Bishop Smith, Bettelheim repeated the importance of the establishment of a mission at Shuri, "the seat of all evil and the centre of the intrigues and cabals carried against the foreigner."[85]

---

[83] Bettelheim to John Hobson, Oct. 1, 1852, Bettelheim's Letters.

[84] The same to Rev. Dr. Welton, Fuchou-fu, Oct. 3, 1852, ibid.

On October 17, the Bettelheims finally succeeded in securing rooms at a public building called Okyakuya (The Guest House) at Shuri. Within a week after he moved there, Bettelheim suffered influenze and thus had to return to the temple in Naha. Seeing the foreign priest's suffering, Satsuma's representative, Nomoto, ordered a Ryukyuan State Councillor, Zakimi, to let Bettelheim die by exorcism. A portrait of Bettelheim was painted. In front of the portrait, day and night the Buddhist priests performed the secret prayer of exorcism to destroy the Christian priest in his sickbed. The curse however did not work on the foreign priest. By October 31, Bettelheim regained his health. Next day the couple resumed their missionary work on the street.[86]

Soon, the Bettelheims returned to the Guest House in Shuri and stayed there three months. Bettelheim's propagation in the capital was not successful, contrary to his expectation. The authorities now resumed more vigorous interference to the invasion of the foreign religion in the capital. On November 25, for example, the Bettelheims went on an excursion. Since they were closely watched by patrols, the family could neither purchase any potatoes nor relieve nature freely. About this time, his door-to-door calls were overtly interrupted by patrols.

---

[85] Bettelheim to George Smith, Sept. 8, 1852, ibid.

[86] Higaonna, Sho Tai Kō Jitsuroku, p. 48.

In the beginning of January, 1853, the interpreters staged a boycott on Bettelheim under the pretext that Bettelheim had asked them to copy Christian books, and that they had to prepare for the civil service examination.[88] The official disturbances did not cease during the Bettelheim's stay in Shuri. On January 21, during his door-to-door visits, Bettelheim was stopped by a patrol in a temple. After a small scuffle, the sleeve of Bettelheim's suit was torn away by the patrol.[89] After the touble, the tsung li kuan finally requested Bettelheim to return to the temple in Naha because the officials could not find a suitable house in Shuri for the Bettelheims, and the Guest House should be secured for public use.[90] Bettelheim's petition for further stay was declined, and by the middle of February the family moved back to the temple in Naha. Thus, Bettelheim's plan to propagate the people in the capital proved abortive after a three-month attempt.

---

[88] Letter of the tsung li ta ch'ên, Shang Ta-mo, and the pu chêng ta fu, Ma Liang-ts'ai, to Bettelheim, Jan. 6, 1853, *ibid*., pp. 41-44.

[89] Bettelheim to the tsung li kuan, Jan 22, 1853, *ibid*., pp. 53-54.

Now, his missionary work resumed in Naha as before. In those days, the islanders were suffering from famine. Whenever they had famine, as a last resort the islanders used to eat cycad (sago palm), which grew on hills. Seeing the miserable scene of famine, Bettelheim donated a hundred *yüan* (Chinese dollar) of foreign money for a relief measure to the authorities on March 10, 1853.[91] Six days later, the money was cordially returned to Bettelheim with a statement that they were taking proper measures for the relief.[92]

His good will for the people's welfare was again turned down by the authorities. Since November last to this time, many things he did constantly met official objection. In his sickbed -- currently his health was declining -- Bettelheim wrote the longest letter of protest he had ever written Shuri. The letter contained thirty pages of Chinese letter-paper. There is no room here to discuss the content of the letter in detail. However, it was a summation of all complaints and suggestions which Bettelheim had made up to that time -- complaints about the official interference with the Bettelheims' access to the market, his missionary activities, his medical service, his language study, and various suggestions about the reforms of the government, religious life, international relations, etc.[93]

---

[90] The *tsung li ta ch'ên*, Shang Ta-mo, and the *pu chêng ta fu*, Ma Liang-ts'ai, to Bettelheim, Jan. 26, 1853, *ibid.*, pp. 55-63.

[91] Bettelheim to the *tsung li ta ch'ên* and the *pu chêng ta fu*, March 10, 1853, *ibid.*, pp. 95-96.

[92] The *tsung li ta ch'ên* and the *pu chêng ta fu* to Bettelheim, Mar. 16, 1853, *ibid.*, pp. 97-101.

During the two months prior to the arrival of Commodore Perry in May, 1853, Bettelheim enjoyed rather satisfactory conditions for his missionary work. Every Lord's day, he could visit at least several, sometimes over ten, native houses and present sermons and readings. On April 3, for example, Bettelheim and his wife visited several houses and were satisfied with the natives' excellent congregations. The people were still suffering from famine. Some of the children and even adults apparently followed the couple for alms. We can not find any account of official interference on this day, but the people hesitated to receive religious tracts for fear of the authorities.[94]

---

[93] Bettelheim to the *tsung li ta ch'ên* and the *pu chêng ta fu*, Mar. 24, 1853, *ibid*., pp. 113-114.

This was followed by six visits at native houses on April 10, nine visits on April 17, eleven visits on April 24, four visits on May 1, five visits on May 8, six visits on May 15, and three visits on May 22.[95] Though they were certainly followed by patrols, the couple did not meet any open official disturbance. The only objection came from a samurai on April 24. The samurai asked Bettelheim to get out of doors, when the missionary was about to enter the house.[96]

His diary also reveals the gradual increase of the inquirers in Christianity. The entry of April 3 mentions Mrs. Bettelheim's friend, who daily prayed to Jesus. Also, on April 10, Bettelheim promised baptism to a man, who had been a serious inquirer for a long time. The entry of May 22 mentioned two brothers called Nagamine. One of them was a spoon-maker, and currently baptized by Bettelheim. The other brother was also an earnest seeker for Christianity. Even one of the interpreters from Shuri expressed his desire to read the Bible on May 19. To his request, Bettelheim encouraged the interpreter to read about the Resurrection of Christ from the Gospel of Luke (chap. 24, v. 44-53) and the Acts of the Apostles (chap. 1, v. 1-12).[97]

---

[94] Entry of Apr. 3, 1853, Diary of Bettelheim.

[95] Entries of April 10, April 17, April 24, May 1, May 8, May 15, and May 22, 1853, ibid.

[96] Entry of Apr. 24, 1853, ibid.

As his missionary work gradually showed promise, Bettelheim's health was slowly declining in those days. His eyes suffered from catarrh, which disturbed his sound sleep lately. In addition, his anxiety over his poor family finances and future missionary work caused insomnia. His isolation from the outside world continued for more than fifteen months. Just before the arrival of Commodore Perry, the missionary was in a state of exhaustion, physically and mentally.

---

[97] Entries of Apr. 3, Apr. 10, May 19, and May 22, 1853, *ibid*.

2. Smallpox vaccination

Bettelheim's medical service was as popular as before. Officials as well as commoners received medicines or treatments from the foreign doctor. Of course, the people were prohibited to receive his medical service, but they approached the doctor under the cover of night or waited for his passage while hiding in thickets. The following example reveals how peoples regarded his medicine excellent and helpful but were extremely cautious about the official surveillance. On December 15, 1850, Bettelheim met a man in his neighborhood. The native, suffering from a severe toothache, asked the doctor for a remedy for toothache. While being treated, the man made sure that nobody watched them. Then, as the doctor wrote, "He had no sooner [applied] the drug in the tooth than he ran off, stopping behind a more distant bush, and calling out for me, he made his bow with uplifted hands to heaven, and disappeared. The man was one of our guards . . . ."[98]

As stated before, the guards were his best customers because of their easy access to the doctor.

---

[98] Extracts from the Journal of the Society's Missionary, p. 34.

In another night, the former chief guard visited Bettelheim for a remedy to a tic-doloreux (facial neuroglia, twitching), which had affected the man from childhood.[99] Most guards were recruited from the lowest class of the privileged or from commoners, so that they were usually poor. Bettelheim's medicines were the most welcome offer for them despite the ban from Shuri.

However, the people in the upper classes were not entirely indifferent to his medical care as mentioned before. The chief interpreter, Ichirazichi, was one of Bettelheim's patients from the upper classes. On July 8, 1851, for example, Ichirazichi, called at the temple for the doctor's advice on a boil on the back of his head. Previously, Ichirazichi applied moxa by a native doctor, who declared the boil as malignant. Since the native treatment caused him unbearable pain all over the head, Ichirazichi decided to call the foreign physician. Two days after Bettelheim's care, Ichirazichi was relieved from the pain which had disturbed his sound sleep for a while.[100] No doubt, the interpreter put more confidence in

---

[99] _Ibid_., p. 36.

[100] _Ibid_., p. 34.

Western medicine than Chinese medicine.

During the peak of persecution, the recipients of his medical treatment sharply declined. In his letter to Peter Parker, dated March, 1851, Bettelheim recorded more than a hundred cases of medical treatment from May, 1846, to that time. Out of a hundred cases, fifty were treated in the first year.[101] Therefore, another fifty were treated during the following four years -- less than thirteen recipients annually. During the period discussed in this chapter, his medical care gradually increased as his door-to-door calls increased.

Perhaps, the greatest contribution Bettelheim made for the islanders was the introduction of bovine vaccine in 1848. The introduction of smallpox vaccination to Japan proper was made by Otto J. Mohnike, Dutch army doctor of German birth, at Nagasaki in 1849. Therefore, Bettelheim's introduction of vaccination was one year ahead of that in Japan proper.

In a more accurate term, the introduction of vaccination had once been tried before Bettelheim did. In 1837, Peter Parker, on his way to Japan proper on board the *Morrison*, visited Okinawa. During his short stay (July 12-15, 1837) at Okinawa, Parker inoculated two natives with vaccine. Since he had a Chinese version of the book on vaccination written by A. Pierson(M.D.) at Canton, Parker asked the islanders to copy it. It was copied by a native physician.[102] For unknown reasons, Parker's introduction however seemed not to have been practiced after his departure. Until Bettelheim's introduction ten years later, the natives had still received the inefficient Chinese style of vaccination.

---

[101] *Letter from Bettelheim to Peter Parker*, p. 23.

Bettelheim's introduction of vaccination however must not have been achieved without the assistance of a native physician called Nakachi Kijin. Nakachi (1789-1859) studied medicine in China and Satsuma and had been well known for his scholarly attainment before Bettelheim's coming. Having heard of Nakachi's reputation in medicine, Bettelheim tried to approach Nakachi at the latter's house. The attempts were for a while interrupted by Nakachi's family, who were afraid of the authorities. After Bettelheim's frequent visits, Nakachi, who himself had desired to get acquainted with the Western doctor, decided to meet the latter secretly at night. They exchanged their knowledge in medicine by the seashore at night in order to avoid the officials' watchful eyes. Nakachi accumulated knowledge in Western medicine and left a note called "Igaku Roku (Notes on Medicine)" as an heirloom of the Nakachis.[103]

---

[102] Sagahara, op. cit., pp. 44-49.

In 1848, smallpox was prevalent. At Bettelheim's repeated advice to Nakachi and Shuri, the authorities decided to accept it. Many cows from all parts of the island were sent to Nakachi and Bettelheim to examine whether any vaccine could be obtained.[104] Cow after cow was brought to Naha, sometimes these made a line for a quarter of a mile distance on the main road in Naha. However, the doctors could not find any bovine vaccine among the cows. Great was the disappointment of Bettelheim and Nakachi. The studious Nakachi, though being nearly sixty years old, took a trip in the island for bovine vaccine. Finally, Nakachi found a cow with pustules in the northern part of the island. Nakachi was delighted beyond measure.

---

[103] Nakachi Kikō, *op. cit.*, pp. 8-9. Nakachi Kikō, M.D., is a descendant of Nakachi Kijin.

[104] Clifford, ed., *Report of the LNM for 1848*, p. 10, and "Letter from B.J. Bettelheim," *The Chinese Repository*, p. 75.

He at once returned to Naha and took a child of his servant as his grandchild to the place. The first vaccine in the Ryukyus was successfully inoculated in an arm of the child. The child, wearing clothes of the privileged class, was carefully brought back to Naha by palanquin.[105] It was the next year when Satsuma tried its first inoculation of bovine vaccine from a different source. Shimazu Nariakira was impressed by the result and decided to inoculate his children.[106]

In the Ryukyus, the diffusion and practice of the new mode however did not follow the initial success made by Nakachi. It was largely due to the conservative minded officials in Shuri, who followed the old custom set for the Chinese style of vaccination. According to the custom, the inoculation was performed for the whole population, under thirteen years old, every thirteen years. The cycle terminated in 1851. During the year Shuri would decide as to the best mode of inoculation and how to perform for the populace. Therefore, when Bettelheim proposed his help for inoculation in April, 1849, Shuri cordially refused his proposal on the ground that the year 1849 was not the proper time for inoculation. A volume called "Account of a New Mode of Vaccination" which Bettelheim previously presented Shuri was returned as well.[107]

---

[105] Kinjō Kiyomatsu, M.D., "Ryukyu ni okeru Gyūtō Sesshuhō to Betteruhaimu-hakase /The Inoculation of Bovine Vaccine in the Ryukyus and Dr. Bettelheim/," Betteruhaimu, p. 16.

[106] Letter of Shimazu Nariakira to Tokugawa Nariaki, Dec. 28, 1849, Nariakira Monjo, v. I, p. 249.

In addition, to Bettelheim's surprise, all interpreters who were assigned to the Bettelheims asked for a leave of absence in May. Having heard that Bettelheim's second daughter was inoculated in May 17, the interpreters were greatly afraid of being infected themselves with smallpox from a foreign girl. They could not trust the new mode introduced by the foreigner. Their proposal was flatly declined by Bettelheim. The interpreters were in a dilemma between their duty and the fear of the disease. Finally, Shuri granted the interpreters some amount of raw sulfur, which smoke was believed to prevent the disease.[108]

---

[107] "Letter from B.J. Bettelheim," The Chinese Repository, p. 75.

[108] Letters of Takashiho pēchin to Onaga pēchin, May 18, 1849; the same to the same, May 19; Onaga pēchin to Takashiho pēchin, May 20; the same to the same, May 21; Takashiho pēchin to Onaga pēchin, the same date;

Unfortunately for the islanders, the full-scale or genuine application of the new mode was delayed until 1851, though Nakachi succeeded in inoculating on a small scale in 1848. The year 1851 had finally arrived; the government decided to perform inoculation for the people. The vaccine had already been brought by Bishop Smith of Hongkong in October, 1850. Shuri asked Bettelheim for several copies of the pamphlet on vaccination. Bettelheim gave these pamphlets and lancets. Native physicians and officials were taught how to inoculate correctly and speedily. Usually, the Ryukyuan government took a year to complete inoculation for all recipients prior to the new mode, but this time by Bettelheim's guidance the term was shortened to three months.[109]

In those days, the chief interpreter, Ichirazichi, frequently visited Bettelheim to ask for lancets, the pamphlets on vaccination, and vaccine. In November, the good news of the result of the new mode was gradually coming. As Bettelheim wrote:

---

and the *tōsengata* [the office for Chinese Ships] to the Nishinjō *tsume* [the guard of Gate Nishi], the same date, *Hyōjōjo Shorui*.

[109] Frederic J. Farre, "Medicine in Lewchew," *The Medical Times and Gazette* (London), v. VII (July 2-Dec. 31, 1853), pp. 168-69.

> To-day we heard from the Shuy Todzies ⌈Shuri interpreters⌋, that upwards of twenty, all minors, *had the pox out, but in such a slightest degree as they never saw* in this country, a *fact which they justly ascribe to the change of method* adopted this year, *in the inoculation* -- practised on my advice, and with the lancets I had given to Ichirazichi . . . .[110] (Italics original.)

However, according to his observation, the inoculation started from the upper classes in Shuri, so that the poor was being delayed. Also the vaccination for the residents of Naha was not performed yet by the beginning of November, 1850.[111]

Bettelheim gave his instructions as to the new mode of vaccination not only to the officials but also to the people. Those who used to trust his medicine in the past willingly accepted his instructions on vaccine. During his Sunday preaching tour, Bettelheim examined the inoculated arms and encouraged the people. Although the Ryukyuan government, maybe but of fear of Satsuma, officially stated that the new mode was introduced from Satsuma, the people soon knew who introduced the new method. As Bettelheim recorded on November 6:

---

[110] *Extracts from the Journal of the Society's Missionary*, p. 36.

[111] Entry of Nov. 10, 1851, Copied Diary of Bettelheim.

> The neighbours came nigh, all exclaiming, "He /Bettelheim/ teaches of the small-pox." I need not say that I used the opportunity for the Gospel likewise, a good number of women and children being permitted to listen very quietly, and an aged man coming into the yard from over the wall, reassuring all . . . "'Tis all right: all right!"[112]

Since the inoculation started from the urban areas, the countryside was still deferred in the beginning of 1852. Having heard of numerous victims from smallpox in the rural areas, Bettelheim felt indignant with the inefficient government in Shuri.[113] In addition, the unhappy islanders suffered from another epidemic -- typhoid -- in those days. Bettelheim sympathized with the poor, who scarcely had on their footwear even in the cold season in those days. He thus donated to Shuri fifty mexican dollars for the poor's footwear. It was, as in the past, cordially returned by the tsung li ta ch'ên under some pretext.[114]

Bettelheim, however, did not give up his duty as a physician to meet the new epidemic. In those days, Bettelheim and his wife spent six or seven hours daily to visit the sick at their homes. The couple used to carry ten to twenty pound weight of medicines. Deeply impressed by his service, Shuri finally allowed him to use a palanquin with bearers for his medical care without further molestation, with their almost open encouragement.[115]

---

[112] Extracts from the Journal of the Society's Missionary, pp. 36-37.

[113] Extracts from the Journal of the Society's Missionary, p. 26.

[114] Bettelheim to the tsung li kuan, Jan. 15, 1852, and the tsung li ta ch'ên to Bettelheim, Jan. 19, 1852, Po-tê-ling Wang Fu Wên, v. I, pp. 255-69.

During the governmental inoculation, the vaccine always ran short. Ichirazichi used to call Bettelheim for new vaccine. In February, 1852, Bettelheim received a new supply of vaccine, which Bishop Smith entrusted to the Sphinx. Therefore, he proposed Shuri for the inoculation among the native children by his own hands.[116] To Bettelheim's disappointment, Shuri cordially declined his proposal in February 21. To tell the truth, Shuri coveted the vaccine, but their prestige prevented them from receiving the stuff brought by the barbarians. Two days later, Ichirazichi visited Bettelheim under the pretext of being the messenger of the New Year's congratulation. The true intention of his visit was to receive vaccine and lancets from Bettelheim! Bettelheim of course handed what Shuri wanted. The result was good. As he wrote twenty days later:

---

[115] F.J. Farre, op. cit., p. 190.

[116] Bettelheim to the tsung li ta ch'ên, Feb. 19, 1852, Liu Ying Wang Fu Wên.

> The Todzies [interpreters], full of gratitude, informed me that the vaccine had generally taken; and, at my request, promised that no effort should be spared to introduce in all the out-islands belonging to Lewchew.[117]

The introduction of the new mode of vaccination obtained remarkable results. Since then, the islanders were greatly relieved from the fateful disease. Nakachi's career also benefited from his acquaintance with Western medicine. In 1850, he was awarded the office of a body physician to the king. Next year, four infant royal members received successful inoculations from Nakachi. In those days there was a heated disputation between Nakachi and other physicians in Shuri in the presence of the king. On that occasion, the young king did not give a decision on the subject but let Nakachi practice the new mode by tacit consent. Later, for his contribution Nakachi was granted fief in Kumejima[118] (the island where the Elizabeth and Henry ran on a rock in February, 1851).

---

[117] F.J. Farre, op. cit., pp. 189-90.

[118] Kinjō Kiyomatsu, op. cit., and Nakachi Kijin, op. cit., Betteruhaimu, pp. 10, 17.

Besides Nakachi, other native physicians visited Bettelheim to seek Western medical information. As Bettelheim stated:

> Notwithstanding the proud talk of the mandarins, and their profession of unaltered adhesion to the medical practice of the Chinese, the native doctors come and then, with or without their [Shuri's] permission, to get their crude notions a little rectified. On such occasions, they have been taught to apply bandages and other surgical manipulation.[119]

Disorders of urinary organs were the field in which the native physicians usually felt difficult to cure and asked the information from Bettelheim frequently.[120] Until July 15, 1854, the day before Bettelheim's departure from the island, the native physician sought the information. On that day, Ichirazichi visited Bettelheim with several physicians to make inquiries of the care of several forms of venereal disease.[121]

Throughout Bettelheim's stay on the island, the islanders frequently asked for Bettelheim's help in the ophthalmic diseases. As mentioned before, Shuri prohibited the people from receiving Bettelheim's ophthalmic treatment of trachoma in August, 1846. However, their request for Bettelheim's treatment did not cease even after the ban. During the period treated in this chapter, Bettelheim recorded other accounts in his ophthalmic treatment.[122]

---

[119] F.J. Farre, op. cit., p. 165.

[120] Ibid.

[121] Entry of July 15, 1854, Diary of Bettelheim.

However, one should not think that his medical service for the people was freely allowed to them even toward the end of his stay. On the contrary, Shuri resumed the surveillance over the people as the epidemic of smallpox and typhus declined. On April 14, 1852, for example, he treated an ophthalmic patient in Naha, but the patient had been removed from his house when Bettelheim visited next day.[123] Exactly the same case occurred one year later. Two patients were removed from their houses before Bettelheim's second visits.[124] The doctor thus lamented the gradual decrease of the patients, who had been treated by him.[125]

---

[122] See, for instance, Letter of Bettelheim to the tsung li ta ch'ên, Nov. 9, 1852, Po-tê-ling Wang Fu Wên, v. II, pp. 29-30; entries of May 1, 1853; May 3; May 4; May 10, 1854; Diary of Bettelheim.

[123] Letter of Bettelheim to the tsung li ta ch'ên, Apr. 15, 1852, Po-tê-ling Wang Fu Wên, v. II, p. 5-7.

[124] Entry of Apr. 3, 1853, Diary of Bettelheim.

Four months later, August,1853, another inhumane act of the officials was inflicted on a native, who had seriously injured his leg. After Bettelheim's first treatment, the patient was removed. Bettelheim made a vain protest to Shuri, stating that their removal of the patient might endanger the poor man's life.[126] In this manner, the official interferences to Bettelheim's medical service did not cease until his departure. On June 10, a month before his departure, one of his servants was seriously beaten by another servant, because the poor servant had previously received medicine from Bettelheim.[127] By order of the government, the servants spied on each other.

Even under these circumstances, the number of his patients must have exceeded by far those in the previous era (before October,1850). The number of his patients for a week varied from two to four, or more.[128] From the foreign doctor, the poor people learned how to make ointment and other medicines. Compared with the rest of the populace, the residents of Naha had benefited more by Bettelheim's medical service during his stay on the island. However, the rest of the populace also benefited greatly by his introduction of smallpox vaccination, especially in the 1851- 52 period. Thus, one may conclude that among the contributions made by Bettelheim to the Ryukyuans, his medical service was the most lasting and immediately beneficial one.

---

[125] Entry of Apr. 25, 1853, ibid.

[126] Bettelheim to the tsung li ta ch'ên and the pu chêng ta fu, Aug. 31, 1853, Po-tê-ling Wang Fu Wên, v. II, pp. 223-25.

[127] Entry of June 10, 1854, Diary of Bettelheim.

3. Translation work

In those days Bettelheim kept busy at his translation work. As mentioned before, he had already finished translations of the Gospel of Luke by July, 1847, and the Acts of the Apostles by August, 1848. After these translations, the Gospel of John was translated. The translation of John must have been easier than others, because Bettelheim had the Japanese version of John done by Gützlaff.[129] The translation was almost finished by December 14, 1850.[130] Then, he immediately started the translation of the Epistle to the Romans, which was completed on March 6, 1851.[131]

---

[128] See, for example, entries of May 7, 1853, and Mar. 11, 1854, Diary of Bettelheim.

[129] Extracts from the Journal of the Society's Missionary, p. 31.

The four portions of the New Testament -- Luke, Acts, John, and Romans -- were, according to Bettelheim, the Ryukyuan version of the Bible. Up to the end of the year 1850, he believed the four translations could be used for future propagation of Christianity in Japan proper, because Ryukyuan was a mere dialect of the Japanese language. His conviction was conveyed to Bishop Smith while he was on the island. Bettelheim's reasoning was simple -- he could "preach and make himself understood by the Japanese sailors who had visited the island."[132] In the second chapter, we have already stated a doubt about the sailors' comprehension of Bettelheim's preaching.[133]

At any rate, Bettelheim was very optimistic about the difference of the dialects in the Ryukyus and Japan proper. As he wrote on December 1, 1850:

---

[130] *Ibid*., p. 30.

[131] *Ibid*., pp. 30, 31.

[132] LNM, ed., *The Seventh Report of the Loochoo Mission Society for 1851-1852*, p. 9.

[133] See pp. 88 - 89.

"With the only exception of the pronouns, and a few verbal derivations, both languages ⌈Ryukyuan and Japanese⌋, in writing, are alike . . . ."[134] However, the view had before long to be corrected. His first doubt about his own view was expressed on January 10, 1851, stating that "My only sorrowing is that my translation . . . cannot be held entirely upon Japanese footing, my duty being to adopt the translation to our Loochooan dialect here."[135] From that time on, Bettelheim's interest centered in learning the tongue used in Japan proper.

However, Bettelheim realized the difficulty in learning the pure Japanese, since the officials always hesitated to teach it to him. A new strategy was sought for the solution of the problem. The solution was an indirect one. The Japanese, including the inhabitants in the Ryukyus, had a special way of reading original Chinese sentences. Since Japanese and Chinese are different languages, the ordinary Japanese people cannot read the Chinese sentence correctly, even though they know the Chinese characters. Thus, the Japanese invented a special way called the kunten [訓点] to read Chinese. It consists of various punctuation marks which guide in rendering of Chinese into Japanese.

---

[134] Extracts from the Journal of the Society's Missionary, p. 29.

[135] Ibid., p. 32.

Since the latter part of the thirteenth century, the islanders had used the kunten to read Chinese. At the Ryukyuan schools, the students were taught how to read Chinese in the Ryukyuan dialect for beginners and then in the pure Japanese for advanced students by using the kunten. Only those who were to engage in Chinese affairs in the future learned how to read Chinese directly, without using the kunten.[136]

Lately, Bettelheim saw Chinese books with the kunten and the people reading the Chinese sentences in the pure Japanese language by using the system. Though he had already mastered Chinese efficiently, Bettelheim thus asked Shuri for instruction in Chinese. Since most interpreters read Chinese by using the kunten, Bettelheim thought they would teach him Japanese indirectly while they were reading Chinese for Bettelheim. Therefore, it was not necessary for Bettelheim to ask Shuri for instruction in Japanese.

---

[136] Higa Shunchō, "Okinawa no Kanbun [Chinese Writing of Okinawa]," Chūgoku [China] (Tokyo), v. LIII (Apr.,1968), p. 36.

While pretending to learn Chinese from interpreters, he could hear and see how they used Japanese.

On June 3, 1851, Bettelheim asked Ichirazichi to find an exposition on the *Lun Yü* [Analects of Confucius] written in the Japanese syllabary. The Ryukyuan was greatly pleased to hear the foreign priest's proposal to study the teachings of their great master. Ten days later, Ichirazichi brough back a book called *Rongo Rigen Shō* [Selected Proverbs from Confucius' Analects], which was compiled by a Japanese scholar. After that time, Bettelheim borrowed other books, all Chinese classics from Shuri. The first lesson on Chinese classics given Bettelheim by the interpreters on September 3, 1851.[137]

By this time, the translation of the four parts of the New Testament were completed. Bettelheim and his wife were busy copying and revising the manuscripts. For instance, Luke was revised five times by the middle of 1851. He also stated that the copying of manuscripts took as much time as translating.[138] Since Mrs. Bettelheim was not good health in those days, Bettelheim had to secure extra hands for his work. In this respect, Bettelheim succeeded in getting the help from interpreters. By the time of the arrival of the Sphinx in February, 1852, Bettelheim could prepare clean copies of the translations. The translations were entrusted to the Sphinx so as to be dedicated to Prince Albert, a friend of the LNM.[139]

---

[137] Higaonna Kanjun, *Ryukyu no Rekishi* [History of the Ryukyus], Tokyo, 1957, pp. 127-31.

[138] *Extracts from the Journal of the Society's Missionary*, p. 31.

Judging from Bettelheim's diary of the latter days, his translation of the four parts of the Bible had not been done completely by the visit of the Sphinx. He had to revise these and to make fair copies of these many times until he finally sent these out to China in April, 1854. The constant revision and fair copying were needed for Bettelheim, because the interpreters often did not teach Bettelheim the correct meaning of sentence in the process of translation work. One interpreter taught him one thing, and another one instructed him differently for the meaning of one sentence or a word. Seeing these conflicting meanings of the sentence, Bettelheim was at odds to decide which instruction he should take for his translation. Under these circumstances, he always wondered whether his drafts were ready for printing.

---

[139] Letter of Bettelheim to the Illustrated London News, September 28, 1852, Bettelheim's Letters.

Besides the four parts of the Bible, he attempted to translate the Gospel of Matthew in the beginning of 1852.[140] However, the translation of Matthew seems not to have been done successfully for unknown reasons. During June and October, 1852, Bettelheim used to have the help of a number of interpreters for his translation work. He was daily assisted by four or five officials for making fair copies of the translated drafts. By mid-September, 1852, a considerable amount of the work was done with the help of the interpreters.

However, their help soon became known to the zaiban bugyō, who chastised the careless Ryukyuan officials on September 20. After the event, naturally the interpreters refused their help for the translation work. Against their refusal, Bettelheim pressed the interpreters one way or another with the view of securing their eventual cooperation in his work. Finally, the poor interpreters resorted to a boycott against Bettelheim's insistence.[141] Therefore, after September

---

[140] Entry of Mar. 15, 1852, Copied Diary of Bettelheim.

[141] Higaonna, Ryukyu no Rekishi, pp. 132-34.

20, Bettelheim could not secure enough help from them. Nevertheless, in his letter to his friend, dated October 1, Bettelheim still stated, "In the afternoon for 4 - 5 hours the Gospel is not only read but studied and translated with two assistants."[142]

While engaging busily in missionary work, medical service, and translating work, Bettelheim tried to study Japanese. So earnestly did he seek a dictionary written in the Japanese syllabary that, on February 9, 1852, Shuri had to order the people to hide the dictionary and other books written in the Japanese syllabary from Bettelheim.[143] His application for the Japanese lesson was also ignored by Shuri in those days.[144] Thus, Bettelheim still had difficulty to learn Japanese in the direct way.

Having mastered the use of the kunten for the Chinese sentence by September of the same year, Bettelheim started to use the system for the new version of the Acts of the Apostles and then to the

---

[142] Bettelheim to Rev. John Hobson, Oct. 1, 1852, Bettelheim's Letters.

[143] Higaonna, Ryukyu no Rekishi, p. 131.

[144] Letter of Bettelheim to the tsung li kuan, May 6, 1852, Po-tê-ling Wang Fu Wên, v. II, pp. 9-12.

Gospel of Luke.[145] He used the Chinese version of the Bible done by Medhurst as the text, which was rendered from Chinese into Japanese with the kunten. Bettelheim had a conviction that the new version of the Bible in this way would serve for the propagation of Christianity among the Japanese, especially the educated people who used to read the Chinese classics with the guidance of the kunten.

Another reason was that since there were many dialects in Japan proper, his version of the Bible could be uniformly ready by any Japanese in any part of Japan. In short, he thought even if he translated the Bible into a dialect of Japan proper, it could not be read by the persons who used different dialects.[146] The Japanese version of the Acts was completed by April 23, 1853, and Bettelheim had already commenced the translation of the Gospel of Luke.[147]

Concerning Bettelheim's so-called Japanese version of the Gospel of Luke, Professor Toyota states that it was the corresponding committee of the British and Foreign Bible Society at Hongkong who revised Bettelheim's Ryukyuan version with the help of some shipwrecked Japanese and printed it as the Japanese version of the Gospel of Luke in 1858. Professor Toyota states that the Chinese text with the kunten in the Japanese version was added to the Ryukyuan version by the correspondent committee.[148]

---

[145] Entry of Apr. 23, 1853, Diary of Bettelheim.

[146] Letter of Bettelheim to the Illustrated London News, September 28, 1852, Bettelheim's Letters.

[147] Entry of April 23, 1853, Diary of Bettelheim.

Since Bettelheim's Japanese version of Luke was published three years after the publication of his Ryukyuan versions of Luke, John, Acts, and Romans, in Hongkong, it is certain that during the three year period the correspondent committee might have revised Bettelheim's Japanese version to some extent. However, the present writer maintains that the Japanese version of Luke, which was published in 1858, was primarily Bettelheim's work. Since Professor Toyota did not use Bettelheim's diary and letters in his study, he denies the originality of the Japanese version with Bettelheim.

As stated before, Bettelheim realized the necessity for Japan proper to write a different version of the Bible from the Ryukyuan version already in the beginning of 1851 and studied how to use the kunten. From September, 1852, the translation work of the Japanese version of the Bible commenced. The LNM report for 1853-54 also confirmed that the Japanese version was Bettelheim's work.[149] After Bettelheim sent the translated manuscripts of the Bible -- the Ryukyuan version and the Japanese version -- to Hongkong for printing in April, 1854,[150] the publication of the Japanese version took four years. It is possible that there must have been made some revision on the Japanese version in Hongkong. But the present writer maintains that the Japanese version of the Gospel of Luke, printed in Hongkong in 1858, was Bettelheim's own work for the most part.

---

[148] Toyota Minoru, Nihon Eigakushi no Kenkyu [Study on the History of Japanese Study of English], Tokyo, 1963, pp. 500-1.

The translation work of the Bible was continued until its shipment to China in April, 1854. The Ryukyuan interpreters sometimes helped his work but on the other occasion boycotted it. In mid-July, 1853, for instance, the interpreters escaped from the temple to refuse cooperation of Bettelheim's work.[151] However, two months later, the mayor of Naha changed his attitude toward Bettelheim, allowing the interpreters to help Bettelheim without any restriction. Bettelheim stated that the interpreters could read even the Bible with Bettelheim.[152] The change of the official attitude might have resulted from their apprehension of the presence of the Americans (Commodore Perry's squadron), as we shall discuss later. The official cooperation however did not last long. Soon the missionary had to appeal to the mayor of Naha for the dispatch of interpreters because they ceased to come regularly to the temple.[153] Bettelheim's translation work was done under these capricious conditions created by the officials until the end of the work.

---

[149] LNM, ed., The Eighth Report of the LNM for 1853-1854, London, 1855, p. 8.

[150] Entry of Apr. 2, 1854, Diary of Bettelheim.

Besides the translation of the portions of the New Testament, Bettelheim left another work -- "The Grammar and Dictionary in the Loochooan Language." Since he regarded it was very important for any missionary to become acquainted with the language of his missionary ground, Bettelheim planned to compile a dictionary and write a grammar of the Ryukyuan tongue from the beginning of his stay on the island. It is natural that the dictionary part was commenced earlier than the grammar part which needed more knowledge in every phase of the language. Already in January, 1847, he began the compilation of vocabularies of the native tongues.[154] The preparation of the grammar part was made from about 1848.[155] By September, 1849, the main body of the dictionary was completed,[156] but a number of vocabularies were added from time to time. In September, 1852, for example, his draft dictionary contained eighteen hundred compact quarto pages. As to the grammar part, all necessary materials were collected by this time, and he seemed to have started writing it.[157]

---

[151] Entries of July 13 and 15, 1853, ibid.

[152] Letter of Bettelheim to Miss Anna Clifford (the daughter of Lt. Clifford), Aug. 11, 1853, Bettelheim's Letters.

[153] Letter of Bettelheim to the Mayor of Naha, Aug. 18, 1853, Po-tê-ling Wang Fu Wên, v. II, p. 213.

---

[154] Entry of Jan. 13, 1847, Diary of Bettelheim.

[155] Miyara Masamori, "Betteruhaimu-hakase no Gyōseki [The achievements of Dr. Bettelheim]." The Okinawa Times (Naha), Aug. 29, 1854.

[156] "Letter from B.J. Bettelheim," The Chinese Repository, p. 33.

[157] Letter of Bettelheim to the Illustrated London News, Sept. 28, 1852, Bettelheim's Letters.

The grammar and dictionary was later entitled "Ryukyugo Bunten Kaitei ⁄The Elementary Ryukyuan Grammar⁄," which consists of chapters on vocal sounds, grammar, syntax, exercises, and vocabularies.[158] The work is the first academic work on the Ryukyan grammar. Unlike the translations of the Bible, the work had no chance to be published and was donated to the British Museum later.

4. American visitors

"'Ships in sight!' first two, then three,"[159] wrote Bettelheim when the Commodore Perry's Squadron, on the way to Edo for the opening of Japan, appeared in Okinawan waters on May 26, 1853. The American squadron left the China coast on May 23. The Susquehanna, Mississippi, and Supply set sail together and were later joined by the Saratoga at Okinawa. On the day, Bettelheim was unexpectedly invited by the tsung li ta ch'ên and the pu chêng ta fu to the public house at Naha. The Ryukyuan officials made inquires about his future plan on the island -- whether Bettelheim would leave the island in the near future.

---

[158] Higa, Okinawa no Rekishi, p. 310.

[159] Entry of May 26, 1853, Diary of Bettelheim.

On that occasion, Bettelheim could not give them a definite answer. After the meeting, the American expedition arrived at the island.

Perry's official Narrative of the Expedition stated what Bettelheim had done next: "As the ships entered [Naha port], the British ensign was seen suddently to rise on a flag-staff, place near a house, which was perched on a curious overhanging point of rock . . . ; this house was the residence of the missionary, Mr. Bettelheim . . . ."[160] Contrasting with the delight of the missionary at the appearance of the squadron, the Ryukyuan officials were seized with a panic. The American squadron was the biggest which the islanders had ever seen up to that time. Soon it multiplied to seven ships. From May, 1853 to July, 1854, the islanders had to deal with this mighty foreign fleet from time to time. It was a great ordeal for the leaders of the kingdom, who had tried to evade every contact with Westerners as much as they could since the visit of the French fleet (Admiral Cécille) in 1846.

---

[160] F.L. Hawks, ed., Narrative of the Expedition of an American Squadron to the China Sea and Japan, v. I, Washington, D.C., 1856, p. 152. Hereafter cited as Hawks, Narrative of the Expedition.

Two Ryukyuan officials were immediately sent to the Susquehanna to present their greeting to the visitors, but actually to reconnoiter the fleet. As soon as the Ryukyuans left the ship, Bettelheim visited Commodore Perry. He told the Americans that since he had not seen any foreign vessel for a year and a half, "he was almost beside himself with joy" at the arrival of the Americans.[161] The two or three hour conversation with Perry gave Bettelheim a good impression of the American Commodore. Comparing with "English Envoy," probably referring to Admiral Cochrane in 1846 or Captain Shadwell in 1852, Perry was marvelously frank with Bettelheim.

By the same frankness, Perry, however, clearly reminded Bettelheim of his policy -- Perry would not get involved with religious matters while staying on the island. Therefore, from the beginning Bettelheim had to cast away any idea of the use of the direct American influence for the amelioration of his missionary work. Nevertheless, his impression of the American commodore was so good and the objective of the expedition so pleased him that Bettelheim resolved, "I offered to serve him [Perry] as a son serves a father."[162] Since then, his service to the American squadron was generously offered, as we shall see later.

---

[161] Ibid., p. 153.

The next day, May 27, Bettelheim received Perry's invitation for breakfast with the Rev. Jones, Chaplain of the Mississippi and Dr. S. Wells Williams, the Chinese interpreter to the expedition. Williams was originally sent by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions as printer to the China mission in 1832, and was the well-known author of the Middle Kingdom. While the squadron was in China, he was currently appointed Interpreter by Perry. After the breakfast, Perry asked Bettelheim to help him as interpreter with Williams at the conference with the mayor of Naha, which was scheduled after the breakfast.

At the official meeting, Bettelheim found out something about the Interpreter to the Expedition. As Bettelheim wrote: "I was sorry to experience how poorly off the great Expedition is in the Interpreter's Department. Dr. Williams himself speaking more the Canton than the Peking dialect . . . ."[163] Since the Peking dialect was used by the Ryukyuan interpreters, Bettelheim sympathized with the American Expedition in their interpreter's Cantonese accents. From that day on, he began to have an idea that he would join the Expedition as interpreter and go to Japan, the place of his yearning for a long time.

---

[162] Entry of May 26, 1853, Diary of Bettelheim.

[163] Entry of May 27, 1853, ibid.

In addition to his sympathy to the Americans about the interpreter's problem, Bettelheim received an optimistic letter from Bishop Smith concerning Bettelheim's possible engagement by Perry as interpreter. The letter stated that in that case, considering his absence from his family on the island for several weeks, Bettelheim might decide by himself whether he accepted the offer or not.[164] Thus, Bettelheim decided to go to Japan and applied to Perry for participation in the American Expedition to Japan. Furthermore, on May 31, he wrote Perry to the effect that he would like to take Mrs. Bettelheim with him on the Expedition.[165]

To his great disappointment, on June 1, Williams told him that it was hard for the Expedition to take the Bettelheims to Japan. Commodore Perry himself expressed the same doubt indirectly on July 4.[166] His expectation for the proposal was so great that he now began to wonder whether Williams might have maneuvered behind the scenes against Bettelheim's proposal.[167] We do not know whether there was such kind of maneuver on the side of Williams. At any rate, it was hard for Perry to take any foreigner for the genuine American enterprise. Since Bettelheim did not know Perry's policy, which was established at the time of the preparation for the Expedition in the United States, he suspected Williams of the maneuver, and there were some grounds for it.

---

[164] Letter of George Smith to Bettelheim, Apr. 21, 1853, in the entry of May 27, 1853, ibid.

[165] Entry of May 31, 1853, ibid.

From the beginning of their acquaintance, Bettelheim and Williams were not on friendly terms with each other until Bettelheim's departure from the island. On May 28, at the conference between Perry and the _tsung_ _li_ _ta_ _ch'ên_, both Williams and Bettelheim served as interpreters. On the occasion, Williams did not feel comfortable when Bettelheim interpreted for the Americans. As Williams stated:

---

[166] Entries of June 1 and 4, 1853, _ibid_.

[167] _Ibid_.

> Bettelheim talked a good deal, and his way of making signs and motioning with face was very much disliked and *wrongly interpreted* [italic mine]. I hardly know that to think of the man, for he whisks about in his opinion like a weathercock . . . .[168]

From the two men's journals, we can see the same kind of suspicion about each other's defects.

Though he renounced to join the expedition to Japan, Bettelheim provided a good deal of his labor for the Americans. The next day of the conference between the *tsung li ta ch'ên* and the commodore, Bettelheim offered his Ryukyuan vocabularies for the American inland expedition,[169] which took place between May 30 and June 4. The Americans gratefully accepted his offer. Bettelheim's service was also rendered to the Ryukyuan side, which really needed someone who could communicate their will to the Americans accurately. Bettelheim served as a go-between for the Ryukyuans and the Americans in 1853-54. In his letter to Bishop Smith, Bettelheim stated that "Commodore Perry . . . is pleased to roll upon me the Commissariat for the Squadron."[170] For the wants of the squadron, water, vegetables, and livestock were supplied through Bettelheim's good offices.

---

[168] S. Wells Williams, "A Journal of the Perry Expedition to Japan (1853-1854)," *Transaction of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, Tokyo, v. XXXVII, part II (1910), p. 11. Cited hereafter as Williams, *A Journal*.

[169] Entry of May 29, 1853, Diary of Bettelheim.

About this time, Bettelheim's friend, Ichirazichi, amazed the Americans by his knowledge of English. On May 30, the Americans tried to rent a house near the seashore. However, the Ryukyuan officials declined the American proposal under some pretext. At the further persistence on the American side, Ichirazichi approached the American delegates, speaking the following in English without the aid of interpreters: "Gentlemen, Doo Choo [Ryukyu] man very small, American man not very small. I have read of America in books of Washington -- very good man, very good. Doo Choo good friend American. Doo Choo man give America all provision he wants. American no can have house on shore."[171]

The Americans were really surprised at his English, since they thought there was no Ryukyuan who knew English. The story was reported to Perry, who later gave a complimentary word to Bettelheim about it.

---

[170] Bettelheim to George Smith, June 1, 1853, Bettelheim's Letters.

[171] Hawks, Narrative of the Expedition, p. 159.

Williams was at the conference as interpreter. On the occasion, Williams heard Ichirazichi talking about "many topics, referring to places in China, countries in Europe, America, etc." Therefore, Williams stated in his journal that "The man (the interpreter) has had considerable instruction from Mr. B. [Bettelheim]."[172] Williams as well as Perry thought Ichirazichi learnt English from Bettelheim. However, their guess was partly right.

Ichirazichi's study in English started before Bettelheim came to the island. Being an intelligent samurai youth, Ichirazichi was sent to China as a student. After his return from China, he studied English from Yoseyama, who learned English from Lt. Clifford in 1816. Yoseyama, then called Aniya, with another official called Maedaira, taught the Ryukyuan tongues to Clifford and in return learnt English from Clifford.

As Clifford collected the Ryukyuan vocabularies, the two young Ryukyuan officials collected English vocabularies as well. Twenty five years later, Ichirazichi learnt English from Yoseyama. Ichirazichi's knowledge in the foreign languages -- Chinese and

---

[172] Williams, A Journal, p. 14.

English -- promised his successful career at the time when many foreigners visited the land since 1844. However, his extraordinarily successful career ended in 1862 by his tragic death in a political intrigue. At any rate, Ichirazichi's knowledge of the English language and foreign countries was first given from Yoseyama and was then increased by his contact with Bettelheim.

Another service Bettelheim rendered to the Americans was ministerial. For the American fleet, Bettelheim helped the chaplains of the fleet for the Sunday worship. Every Sunday, from June 5, 1853 to the end of his stay on the island, Bettelheim offered his ministerial service first on board the American ships early in the morning and then went out to the town for his regular Sunday preaching for the natives. Later, his ministerial service was joined by E.H. Moreton, who came to the island in February, 1854.

Unlike the preachings to the natives, his service to the American sailors had no trouble with the language or the surveillance. Thus, he wrote on June 17, 1853, that his service to the American sailors reminded him of his old days in London,[173] where he worked for an independent church.

---

[173] Entry of June 11, 1853, Diary of Bettelheim.

Bettelheim's service to the Americans was also offered in medical care. The fleet had their own physicians. However, when main body of the Expedition was absent from the island, some sailors or ships were usually left behind to watch their goods on the island. Bettelheim thus took care of the American sailors medically during the absence of their own physicians.

Meanwhile, the Americans were busy in preparation for the expedition to Japan. As a dress rehearsal of the expedition to Japan, the commodore kept in touch with the Ryukyuan officials in a determined attitude. For the leaders of the kingdom, June 6 was a humuliating day as they suffered from Captain Shadwell's forced visit to the Royal Palace in February, 1852. On that day Commodore Perry visited the Royal Palace against the will of Shuri. His intention of visiting the capital had been transmitted to Shuri on May 28. Since then, the Ryukyuan leaders made every effort to avoid Perry's plan.

Bettelheim was asked by Shuri for his good offices.[174] The Ryukyuan excuse for declining Perry's visit was that because of the illness of the Queen Mother and the infancy of the king, the American visit to the Royal Palace would not be appreciated by the Ryukyuans.[175] Having been asked good offices from the Americans and the Ryukyuans, Bettelheim tried to find a compromise position, to no avail. Since they had gained acquaintance with the precedent established by Captain Shadwell, Perry decided to follow the English pattern. Basically, Bettelheim also did not object to Perry's plan, probably in the hope of curbing the stubborn attitude of the Ryukyuan officials toward foreigners.

---

[174] The tsung li ta ch'ên to Bettelheim, June 4, 1853, Po-tê-ling Wang Fu Wên, v. II, pp. 163-66.

On the morning of June 6, the Americans landed and marched toward the capital. Following tall flag-bearers, two pieces of brass artillery, the band, and a company of marines, four coolies bore the commodore in a sedan chair while two marines and a page marched beside it -- the procession numbered some two hundred or more. Bettelheim was asked to join the Americans by the commodore. It was the first time that Bettelheim entered the Royal Palace.

After the final vain attempt to block the American entry to the Palace, the Ryukyuan officials cordially received the visitors. The exchange of greetings at a reception hall and the state banquet at another hall were managed smoothly without the presence of the king or the regent, the real first dignitary of the kingdom. The visitors were received by the *tsung li ta ch'ên* and the *pu chêng ta fu*. On the way to Naha, some American officers expressed their satisfactory view that there would be no more trouble between the Americans and the natives after the wonderful reception of the day. However, Bettelheim gave his skeptical view about Shuri's attitude toward the Americans.[176]

---

[175] The same to Commodore Perry, June 3, 1853, _ibid_., pp. 153-57.

Because of his failure to prevent the Americans from entering the Palace, the *tsung li ta ch'ên*, Shang Ta-mo, was removed from the post after the above event. The new *tsung li ta ch'ên* was Shang Hung-hsun, a much younger man than his predecessor. The American sympathy now went out to the former *tsung li ta ch'ên*. As the *Narrative* stated:

> It was not a pleasant reflection to the officers that they should have been . . . the cause of the poor old man's degradation. . . . At first, it was rumored that the old regent [referring to the *tsung li ta ch'ên*, not the real regent] had been obliged to performed the *hara-kiri*,

---

[176] Entries of June 5 and 6, 1853, Diary of Bettelheim.

> or disemboweling operation; but the painful feelings produced by this intelligence were happily relieved by the sight of the old man in his house at Shui [Shuri], by two of the officers of the Susquehanna.[177]

The Narrative added that Bettelheim "did not seem to feel any pity for the degraded dignitary . . . ." The former tsung li ta ch'ên had served the post since the visit of the Reynard, October, 1850. During the last two and a half year term, Bettelheim lost his disciple, Stachi Hama, and suffered himself by the assault of Satsuma men and patrols in December, 1851. From these bitter experiences, Bettelheim must have not been able to feel sympathy for the man's degradation.

The American impression of Bettelheim by this time was as follows:

> He [Bettelheim] possessed many qualifications for his work. He was a physician, a good linguist, with great energy of mind and activity of body, and most indefatigable perseverance. He possessed, also, a boldness of nature, which caused him fearlessly to assert his rights as a British subject, and perhaps, not always with discretion.[178]

One may notice the same comment as the above on Bettelheim made by the British seamen of the Reynard in

---

[177] Hawks, Narrative of the Expedition, p. 215.

[178] Ibid., p. 225.

October, 1850.[179]

During their stay on the island, the Americans benefited from Bettelheim's service, as mentioned before. On the other hand, Bettelheim was offered many services from the Americans as well. Since the squadron made Naha port a place of rendezvous during 1853-54, the American ships frequently plied between China coasts and Naha. Therefore, Bettelheim's communication with his friends in China or in England were entrusted to the American ships. Already the Mississippi handed him a letter from Bishop Smith on May 27. Several days later, Bettelheim entrusted letters and money to the Caprice, which was about to return to China. Eleven months had passed since he sent his last letters to friends in China. About Bettelheim's money ($800), Williams, without knowing Bettelheim's true intention, made the cynical remark:

> He /Bettelheim/ is not at all backward in sending or begging for things, while he, Jew-like, put his money in the bank. However, this must be added, that he cannot spend much money here for his family; and this sum may be the surplus of his salary.[180]

---

[179] See p. 254.

[180] Williams, A Journal, p. 17.

However, this was Williams' misunderstanding. The money, according to Bettelheim's diary, was to be deposited in a bank in China with the intention partly for aiding the LNM and partly for his wife and children.[181] It was not a surplus from the salary. His salary was not only reduced currently[182] but did not arrive regularly to the island because of the rare passage from China to Okinawa. The money was his personal fund brought from England and was to be deposited for fear of theft.

Two days after the shipment of the letters and money, he received religious tracts from Williams.[183] On June 29, additional supplies of religious books were brought from China to Bettelheim by the Caprice.[184] In addition, the Squadron occasionally supplied Bettelheim's wants -- Western food stuff, liquor, and other necessities.[185] Even the passage was offered for the men relating to his society. On June 28, the

---

[181] Entry of June 1, 1853, Diary of Bettelheim.

[182] Entry of Apr. 23, 1853, ibid.

[183] Entry of June 4, 1853, ibid.

[184] Entry of June 29, 1853, ibid.

[185] Entries of May 31 and June 8, 1853, ibid.

Caprice brought two Chinese,[186] whom Bishop Smith found for Bettelheim and Bettelheim's future fellow missionary, E.H. Moreton. Thus, Bettelheim and the Americans benefited each other in 1853-54.

As to the arrival of the two Chinese, it was Shuri which was greatly alarmed at the increase of foreign residents. The surveillance was tightened day and night. The new tsung li ta ch'ên immediately requested Perry to take the Chinese from the island by the ship which brought them.[187] The Ryukyuan request was ignored by Perry. After that, the Chinese stayed with the Bettelheims.

One of the Chinese was an interpreter called Ch'ien Wên-ch'i. To Bettelheim's disappointment, Ch'ien spoke with a strong Shanghai accent, so that Bettelheim had no immediate prospect to learn the Mandarin. However, another Chinese pleased the Bettelheims, because he was sent as a servant. Mrs. Bettelheim was greatly relieved from her busy household cares.[188]

---

[186] Entry of June 29, 1853, ibid.

[187] The tsung li ta ch'ên to Commodore Perry, June 30, 1853, Po-tê-ling Wang Fu Wên, v. II, pp. 173-75.

[188] Letter of Bettelheim to the Rev. John Hobson, July 2, 1853, Bettelheim's Letters.

Unlike his former interpreter, Liu, the new one was impatient with the unbearable conditions in the island. A week after his arrival at the island, Ch'ien protested against Shuri's policy on the market problem. Probably Bettelheim suggested Ch'ien to do so. But, Shuri did not accept any amelioration. Another of Ch'ien's protests was doomed only to fail.[189] Under these circumstances, Ch'ien and another Chinese servant decided to return to China and secretly asked Shuri to arrange the passage for them in September.[190] Finally, the Chinese succeeded in securing passage to China on board the Supply of the American squadron in January, 1854.[191] Bettelheim's disappointment was great. The Chinese left the island before Moreton arrived.

---

[189] Ch'ien Wên-ch'i to the District Magistrate of Naha, July 4, 1853, the District Magistrate of Naha to Ch'ien Wên-ch'i, July 10, 1853, and Ch'ien Wên-ch'i to the District Magistrate of Naha, n.d. (July 11 or 12, 1853), Po-tê-ling Wang Fu Wên, v. II, pp. 177-80, 185-88.

[190] Ch'ien Wên-ch'i to the District Magistrate of Naha, Sept. 27, 1853, ibid., pp. 227-30.

[191] Report of the Dispatched Officials of the Satsuma Clan to the Ryukyus, Kawakami Shikibu, and other to the Clan Councillor, Shimazu Bungo, and other, Feb. 10, 1854, Ishin Shiryō, sec. II, v. I, p. 290.

Meanwhile, Bettelheim resumed his service to the natives during the absence of the American squadron, which started for its first historic mission to Edo on July 2. Every Sunday, Bettelheim was now accompanied by the Chinese interpreter until the latter's departure from the island. Usually, they visited several doors and distributed religious tracts,[192] which had been brought there by the Americans. In those days, the growing force of the T'ai P'ings, which had already seized Nanking on March 19, 1853, provided Bettelheim a suitable topic for his preaching.

Without knowing much about the cult of the T'ai P'ings, which was a bizarre syncretism of misunderstood Christianity and native beliefs, Bettelheim gave the islanders the news of the T'ai P'ings' victorious march in China and encouraged them to follow Christian ways as many Chinese were then doing.[193] Interestingly enough, Bettelheim in two cases used the name of the new era of the T'ai P'ings instead of that of the Ch'ing dynasty. The first letter was dated July 11, 1853, and the last one was August 31, 1853.[194] On each case the name of the era was written the third year of T'ai P'ing Wang [T'ai P'ing King] instead of the third year of Hsien Fêng (the ninth emperor of the Ch'ing, Wên Tsung).

---

[192] Entries of July 3, July 10, July 17, July 24, 1853, Diary of Bettelheim.

[193] Entry of July 11, 1853, ibid.

Certainly, from the Ryukyuan viewpoint, the Ch'ing (Manchu) dynasty was on the verge of collapse before the rising force. They could not expect help from the Celestial Empire to expel the Bettelheims. In China, the negotiations between the Chinese and British officials did not progress, contrary to the Ryukyuan expectation. The Imperial Commissioner was Yeh Ming-ch'ên since September, 1852. Yeh was known as a notorious Viceroy for his stern dealing with the foreigners.[195] Right after the visit of the *Sphinx* in October 1852, Shuri sent another petition to the Celestial Empire in December, 1852.[196] The imperial edict was granted to order Yeh for the new opening of negotiations with the British representative.

---

[194] Letters of Bettelheim to the *tsung li kuan*, July 11 and August 31, 1853, *Po-tê-ling Wang Fu Wên*, v. II, pp. 181-83, 223-25.

[195] Swisher, *op. cit.*, p. 757.

[196] Letter of the Provincial Treasurer of Fukien to Heir Apparent of the Ryukyus, Shang, June 8, 1853, *Li Tai Pao An*.

The British Plenipotentiary, Bonham, took leave of absence from March, 1852 to February, 1853, and the office was deputed to John Bowring, the Canton Consul. Yeh's request for the removal of the Bettelheims was sent to Bowring, who however ignored it.[197] According to Professor Beasley, Bowring, who later replaced Bonham in April, 1854, openly felt contemptuous of Bettelheim.[198]

When Bonham returned to China, Yeh sent the Chinese request on the subject to the British. Bonham's reply reached Yeh on July 10, stating that the British government had already transmitted their will on the subject directly to the Ryukyuan government, and that there was no British intention to take the Bettelheims from the island because the missionary was doing good things for the islanders. Furthermore, Bonham warned the Chinese official that the Ryukyus was not Chinese territory.[199] That was about all that the Celestial Empire could do for the Ryukyu kingdom for the removal of the Bettelheims.

---

[197] July 11, 1853, Memorial of Yeh Ming-ch'ên, IWSM, HF 6; 19 a, 9 - 20 a, 6.

[198] Beasley, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

For Bettelheim, the situation concerning outside help was the same as before or probably worsening as time went on. Bonham was indifferent to the Bettelheim problem, and Bowring's (Bonham's successor) attitude on the subject was unfavorable for Bettelheim. Bettelheim himself already knew more or less about the coolness of the British officials in China toward him, when he received a reply from them on his request for more protection in July, 1853.[200]

In the meantime, having succeeded in delivering the "Presidential Letter to the Emperor" to the Bakufu, Commodore Perry returned to Naha from his first visit to Japan on July 25, 1853.

The return of the squadron affected the Ryukuan authorities as a psychological pressure, which made Bettelheim's missionary work easier. His daily life became busy in serving the Americans as well as the islanders. Since the surveillance over Bettelheim became lightened, Bettelheim could make frequent visits to the native houses.

---

[199] July 11, 1853, Memorial of Yeh Ming-ch'ên, IWSM, HF 6; 19 a, 9 - 20 a, 6.

[200] Entry of July 18, 1853, Diary of Bettelheim.

In his letter to the chairman of the committee of the LNM, G. Robert Clarke, dated July 11, he joyfully reported that he had baptized four natives -- three in Naha and one in Shuri. The three converts in Naha were an aged spoon-maker, a slipper-maker, and one samurai. Bettelheim did not mention the background of the convert in Shuri.[201] Another convert was found by August 11. The fifth convert was from a good family in Shuri, probably a samurai family. The family of the new convert was also interested in the foreign religion and welcomed Bettelheim's visits.[202]

The conditions regarding his missionary work did not change basically even after the commodore left for China on August 2. His letter to Bishop Smith urged the shipment of more tracts to Okinawa, because the opportunities to distribute the tracts were abundant toward the end of the year 1853.[203] In the beginning of the new year, 1854, the authorities reported to the Satsuma officials about Bettelheim's more active work on the street. In January, Bettelheim twice carried with him a sacred portrait of Jesus Christ, which was openly displayed before the natives while preaching.[204] However, concerning the number of the actual converts, it did not increase after August, 1853, though the inquirers in Christianity multiplied.

---

[201] Bettelheim to G. Robert Clarke, July 11, 1853, Bettelheim's Letters.

[202] Letter of Bettelheim to Miss Anna Clifford, Aug. 11, 1853, ibid.

[203] Bettelheim to George Smith, Nov. 12, 1853, ibid.

5. Farewell to Okinawa and the LNM

Although his missionary work was done under more favorable conditions than in any period after the so-called "Golden age of the Mission" (May,1846 - October,1847), Bettelheim decided to leave the island. There were several reasons for his decision to leave. First, he wanted to publish his translations of the Bible under his own supervision in China. Since the translated scriptures were his life work, he wanted to print these in his favorite type.

Secondly, Bettelheim was anxious about his children's education. It was necessary for Bettelheim to consider education for his elder children -- Rose, nine years old in April, 1853, and Bernard, seven and a half. In his letter to Clarke of the LNM, Bettelheim made inquiries about the education of the children, expressing his desire to send them to England.[205]

---

[204] Report of the Dispatched Official of the Satsuma Clan to the Ryukyus, Kawakami Shikibu, and other to the Clan Councillor, Shimazu Bungo, and other, Feb. 22, 1854, Ishin Shiryō, sec. II, v. I, p. 791.

Another reason for his departure from the island was his declining health. As stated before, the climate of the island did not suit the family from the beginning. Mrs. Bettelheim had always suffered from a light illness. Bettelheim himself felt the decline of his health in the latter part of his stay on the island. He had continuously suffered from sleepless nights. In addition, his eyesight was declining as his translation work approached the end. In his letter to a friend in China, Bettelheim expressed his apprehension of blindness.[206]

The final reason was probably his alienation from the LNM, to which Bettelheim's dissatisfaction increased toward the end of his stay on the island.

---

[205] Bettelheim to G. Robert Clarke, Aug. 1, 1853, Bettelheim's Letters.

[206] Bettelheim to John Hobson, Oct. 1, 1853, ibid.

In his diary, especially after the spring of 1853, one may see some complaints to the LNM. The complaints consisted of the problems of the organization of the society and pecuniary matters. Concerning the organization of the mission , he preferred more discretionary power of the missionary to the present system.[207] Concerning pecuniary matters, the delay of payment of his salary for several years and its reduction caused his discontent with the mission. He expected three hundred pounds annually for his salary,[208] but the mission had paid him two hundred pounds on the average.[209]

When the above problems fully occupied his mind, pleasant news arrived from Bishop Smith on June 10, 1853 -- the dispatch of another missionary (E.H. Moreton) of the LNM to Okinawa. The increase of the LNM missionaries on the island was his desire as well as that of the LNM from the beginning. Hearing the news, Ichirazichi openly showed his great disappointment.[210] By the end of next month, Bettelheim decided to leave the island for China after Moreton's arrival at the island. Then, in November, Bettelheim further decided to send his family to England. He himself planned to stay with the Moretons to teach the native tongue and then to decide his future plan after Moreton's mastery of the language.[211]

---

[207] Bettelheim to George Smith, June 1, 1853, ibid.

[208] Entry of Apr. 23, 1853, Diary of Bettelheim; letter of Bettelheim to G. Smith, June 1, 1853; Bettelheim's Letters; and seven reports (1846-53) of the LNM.

[209] See each Statement of Expenses in seven annual reports of the LNM from 1846 to 1854.

The chance to send his family to China arrived when the American Expedition visited the island on January 20, 1854. Commodore Perry was on his way to Edo to negotiate with the Bakufu for the opening of Japan. The Expedition left for Japan proper on February 4, but a ship, called Supply, of the squadron was to return to China for supplies. An arrangement was kindly made by the Americans for the passage of the Bettelheims to China. On February 8, Mrs. Bettelheim and the children set sail on board the Supply for China. Bettelheim returned alone to the temple, shedding tears, as the Ryukyuans observed.[212]

---

[210] Letter of Bettelheim to G. Smith, July 1, 1853, Bettelheim's Letters.

[211] Letters of the same to the same, July 31 and Nov. 12, 1853, ibid.

[212] Report of the Dispatched Official of the Satsuma Clan to the Ryukyus, Kawakami Shikibu, and

Four days after the family's departure, a Russian frigate, the Pallada, visited Naha. During his mission to Japan for the settlement of the boundary and the opening of Japan, Admiral E. V. Putyatin stopped at the island for rest and supplies. The Russians stayed on the island for ten days. On board the Pallada, was Ivan A. Goncharov, the author of Oblomov (1858).

On February 14, Goncharov met Bettelheim on board the ship. Bettelheim gave the Russian novelist a lot of information about the people on the island. The official disturbance to his missionary work was also related to Goncharov. In his account of the visit to the island, the Russian author commented on the English missionary as follows: "Eight years in the Ryukyus -- it is a true Christian enterprise! This missionary speaks English and German, but his French is very poor." As to Bettelheim's character, Goncharov wrote critically: "[He] was a real prattler. This man did not have anything attractive. Since his way of talking, turn of expression, conversation, and compliments were somehow or other

---

other to the Clan Councillor, Shimazu Bungo, and other, Feb. 22, 1854, Ishin Shyryō, sec. II, v. I, p. 296.

brusque and secretive, these proved to be his disadvantage."[213] Although Bettelheim told Goncharov how badly the officials treated him and criticized the customs of the islanders -- drunkenness, gambling, etc., Goncharov also recorded a native's criticism of Bettelheim. When a Russian crew asked a native about the missionary, the native, openly showing ill feeling about Bettelheim, said in English, "Bad man, very bad man!"[214] The native must have been an official, not a commoner, since Bettelheim used to teach English secretly to the interpreters.

While Goncharov and Bettelheim were talking on board, a ship approached Naha port. The English ship, the *Robina*, brought the Moretons to the island. Moreton, about twenty-seven years old, was accompanied by his wife and a son. The Moretons left England in April, 1853, and arrived at Hongkong in August following. Until his departure for the final destination, Okinawa, the Moretons were on the China coast for five months. During the period, Moreton was ordained by

---

[213] Ivan A. Goncharov, *Nihon Tokōki* [Account of the Voyage to Japan] (Excerpt from *Polnoe Sobranie Sochinenii* [Collected Workes], v. II, *Fregat Pallada*, St. Petersburg, 1884), trans. Inoue Mitsuru, Tokyo, pp. 363-64.

[214] *Ibid.*, p. 367.

Bishop Smith. Unlike the case of Bettelheim, the ordination of Moreton had no difficulty, because Moreton had worked as a missionary for the London City Mission before his engagement by the LNM.

The new family was immediately taken to the temple without asking the permission of the Ryukyuan authorities. Under some pretext, Bettelheim and Moreton refused to meet Ichirazichi who visited the temple on his official duty. The Ryukyuan request to the captain of the Robina for the removal of the Moretons was only to fail.[215] Following Bettelheim's precedent in May, 1846, Moreton succeeded in settling on the island. At last, on February 20, the Robina left the island.

The new life started for the lonely Bettelheim with the Moretons. Now, Bettelheim had to teach Moreton what he had learnt during the past eight years on the island -- the language, customs, especially the method of propagation of Christianity under strict surveillance. Moreton was also a good linguist, mastering the new language quickly. Moreton could carry on simple conversation in the new language by

---

[215] Report of the Dispatched Official of the Satsuma Clan to the Ryukyus, Kawakami Shikibu, and other to the Clan Councillor, Shimazu Bungo, and other, Feb. 22, 1854, Ishin Shiryō, sec. II, v. I, pp. 779-86.

April 25.[216]

Every Sunday, Bettelheim accompanied Moreton and his wife for door-to-door calls. Being alarmed by the arrival of the new missionary, the surveillance over them was more strictly observed than before. At the beginning, Moreton served as a watch in order to prevent the officials from interrupting Bettelheim's preaching on the street or in the native houses. The first chance for Moreton to preach to the natives came on April 20. On that day, after their door-to-door calls, Moreton went out alone and preached at five native houses.[217] He started his first sermon bashfully and unsteadily. But it was a good start. Though there were constant official disturbances and some resistance from the samurai families to their missionary work, the missionaries intensified their activities with the natives, especially for commoners who did not show hostility to the foreign ministers.

Their missionary work became much easier after Commodore Perry's return from Japan, where the Americans concluded the historic treaty with Japan for the opening of Japan on March 31, 1854. The day following Perry's return, for example, Bettelheim observed that twelve Ryukyuan officials attended his Sunday sermon for an hour. Bettelheim thought the unusual attendance of the officials was due to their fear of the presence of the American squadron.[218] On July 11, Commodore Perry concluded a pact of amity with Shuri, which was ratified by U.S. Congress on March 9, 1855.

---

[216] LNM, The Eighth Report of the Loochoo Mission Society for 1853-1854, p. 37.

[217] Entry of April 30, 1854, Diary of Bettelheim.

During the negotiation of the pact, Shuri appealed to Commodore Perry for the removal of Bettelheim and the Moretons.[219] In Bettelheim's case, an arrangement had already been made by the Americans for Bettelheim's passage to China, and the Ryukyuans were informed of the departure of Bettelheim from the island. As to the Moretons, Shuri had to give up the removal of the family by the American ships, since the new missionary had no intention to leave the island.

During the last week before his departure from the island, Bettelheim was busy with preparation. On July 13, the tsung li ta ch'ên offered him a farewell banquet and presents including money and articles.[220] The American friends also donated two hundred fifty dollars for the British missionaries for their service to the fleet.[221] Bettelheim himself had already received a large silver cup donated by the officers and the crew of the Plymouth for his service in December last.

---

[218] Entry of July 2, 1854, *ibid*.

[219] The *tsung li ta ch'ên*, Shang Hung-hsun, and the *pu chêng ta fu*, Ma Liang-ts'ai, to Commodore Perry, July 10, 1854, in Hawks, *Narrative of the Expedition*, p. 498.

Bettelheim's last present to the natives was the farewell address in Chinese. The content of the address was a summation of what he had provided the natives over the last eight years -- the worship of Christianity, the better treatment of foreigners, and the advantage of free trade with Westerners.[222] On July 17, 1854, finally Perry's squadron left the island. On board the Powhatan, Bettelehim, full of a thousand emotions, was looking back to the island where he had struggled for the Gospel for more than eight years.

Since he left the island before he received permission from the Loochoo Naval Mission,[223] Bettelheim's relation with the LNM was alienated. On Bettelheim's part, he had his reasons to do so -- due to the slow communication between England and the island and several reasons as stated before.[224] Bettelheim met his family at Hongkong. Having arranged the publication of his translations at Hongkong, the Bettelheims left there for England in August, 1854.

---

[220] Entry of July 13, 1854, Diary of Bettelheim.

[221] Entry of July 12, 1854, ibid.

[222] Entry of July 15, 1854, ibid.

The Ryukyuan versions of the portions of the New Testament -- the Gospels of Luke and John, the Acts of the Apostles, and the Epitstle to the Romans -- were published under the supervision of Bishop Smith at Hongkong in 1855. Five hundred copies of the Japanese version of the Gospel of Luke was also published in 1858. Although some of the latter version was sent to missionaries in Japan, the translations, due to their strong Ryukyuan corruption, proved unserviceable to use in Japan proper.[225]

On her way to England, the Sophia Burbage, in which the Bettelheims embarked, stopped at the Bermudas for repairs in February, 1855. While the ship was staying there, Bettelheim decided to see the new world.[226] A short visit to New York impressed him so favorably that Bettelheim called his family from the Bermudas to live in the United States. By his settlement in New York, Bettelheim's connection with the LNM was completely serered.

---

[223] LNM, The Eighth Report of the Loochoo Mission Society for 1853 - 1854, p. 16.

[224] See pp. 369-71.

[225] Toyota, *op. cit.*, p. 501.

The family stayed in New York for a few years and then moved to Illinois, where he was ordained a minister by the Presbytery of Chicago. In those days he was revising the Japanese versions of the Gospels of John and Luke, and the Acts of the Apostles with the aid of a certain native Japanese. Soon, war clouds hung over the land. His service as surgeon to the 106th Regiment, Illinois Volunteer Infantry, was his new career from August to December, 1863.

After the Civil War, the family moved to Odell, Illinois and opened a drugstore, while much of Bettelheim's time was spent lecturing about the Ryukyus and Japan. Later, the Bettelheims moved to Brookfield, Missouri, where Bettelheim died of pneumonia on

---

[226] New York Daily News, March 31, 1855, p. 8.

February 9, 1870[227]

Mrs. Bettelheim, before her death in April, 1872, presented the drafts of the new Japanese versions of the Gospels of John and Luke, and the Acts of the Apostles to the British and Foreign Bible Society with four hundred dollars for the cost of printing. The publication of the new versions, edited by Professor A. Pflizmaier (a Sinologist) in Vienna -- the Gospels of John and Luke in 1873 and the Acts of the Apostles in the following year.[228]

On Okinawa, Moreton's health continuously declined. He subsequently resigned the post of the LNM and left the island for Australia in October, 1855. With his departure, the LNM had no missionary stationed on the island. The founder of the LNM, Lt. Clifford, died in 1855, though he had ceased to be active because of illness since 1851. Unfortunately for the LNM, the Patron of the society since its establishment, the Duke of Manchester, also passed away in the same year. Naturally, the LNM became less enthusiastic about the "Claims of Loo-Choo" after 1855. When the LNM was formally dissolved in 1861, its balance of £ 654 was handed over to the Church Missionary Society in the hope that it would be used for the foundation of a Japan mission.[229]

---

[227] Earl R. Bull, "The Trials of the Trail Blazer, Bettelheim," part II, The Japan Evangelist (Tokyo), v. XXXII, No. 3 (1925), pp. 91-92.

[228] Toyota, *op. cit.*, pp. 501-2.

---

[229] Eugene Stock, *The History of the Church Missionary Society*, v. II, London, 1890, p. 597.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

In the preceding pages an attempt has been made to portray a comprehensive picture of the first Protestant missionary to Okinawa. The idea of propagating Christianity among the islanders was born in the mind of a pious naval officer, Herbert J. Clifford. His dream came true when the Loochoo Naval Mission (1843-61) was founded. The society's missionary, Bettelheim, was a convert, but he was full of enthusiasm for his mission to save the souls of the unconverted. Having personally experienced the difficulties of conversion, Bettelheim worked patiently for the islanders for eight years.

Bettelheim's stay on the island, however, was spent under the rapidly changing international situations which surrounded the island kingdom. The display of British military power in China during the Opium War caused other Asian countries to assume a more prudent attitude toward Westerners. Therefore, the Ryukyuan authorities could not merely expel the unwelcome missionary from the island for fear of the possible retaliatory action of England. Bettelheim's stay, with that of the French priests, became something more than a local problem. The problem was discussed in the three capitals -- Edo, Peking, and London.

In Edo, the fundamental policy toward the foreigners was established in 1846. Eight years before the opening of Japan by Commodore Perry, some leaders of Japan moved toward the partial change of the age-old seclusion policy at the Ryukyus: communication and trade with the French, later with the English, were permitted under an unavoidable case, but missionary work for Westerners should be strictly forbidden. The promoter of the new policy was the Satsuma Clan. We should remember that the same Satsuma Clan soon became the chief advocate to destroy the Bakufu, bringing about the Meiji Restoration in 1868.

The Satsuma Clan was entrusted with executing the policy thereafter. Satsuma, as the feudal overlord of the kingdom, ordered the Ryukyus to take cautious measures by which the missionaries, English and French, had eventually to leave the island of their own will. The policy worked well in the case of the French only. The Bettelheims were still there. The perplexed kingdom repeatedly asked the Celestial Empire for help. Unfortunately for the kingdom, every effort of their patron, China, failed to move the British government toward the removal of the Bettelheims from the island.

On the other hand, Bettelheim was not happy about the attitude of London toward him. Beyond a general policy to protect the lives and property of the British subjects, all Foreign Secretaries, except Palmerston, showed little interest in Bettelheim's appeal for more help to maintain him on the island. Therefore, Bettelheim and the island kingdom were caught in a dilemma. The kingdom could not expel him by the help of her two patrons, Japan and China, nor could Bettelheim get the help from London to improve his unbearable conditions on the island. The relations between Bettelheim and the Ryukyuan authorities did not change basically during Bettelheim's eight year stay.

However, we note that there were some fluctuations of the relations between the two parties. During the first year, Bettelheim was able to enjoy relatively free access to the people, and designated the period the "Golden Age of the mission." Gradually, surveillance over his activities was more strictly enforced. The state funeral affair (October, 1847) terminated the "Golden age," which was followed by severe persecution of his activities for three years. The peak of the persecution was from November, 1849 to January, 1850. We should remember that it was the resident commissioner of Satsuma who ordered the strict observance of the policy against Bettelheim's activities. The peak of the persecution ended with the visit of the Reynard in October, 1850. Although the authorities still objected to his activities, Bettelheim enjoyed freer access to the people toward the end of his stay, especially after the arrival of Commodore Perry's Expedition in May, 1853.

The fluctuation of the relations between Bettelheim and the Ryukyuan government primarily resulted from the two causes. First, we note that the Ryukyuan officials were not so strict in carrying out the anti-Christian policy imposed upon them by Edo through Kagoshima. Especially, the lower ranking officials and the people reluctantly followed the imposed policy of the outsiders. Secondly, after the visit of the Reynard, the kingdom felt more pressure from the outside. England sent more warships and official letters to put pressure on the island. More Western ships -- German, American, and Russian -- visited the island. For the islanders, the Western visitors were thought to be on Bettelheim's side. Thus, the official surveillance over Bettelheim sometimes became a matter of formality.

Under these circumstances, Bettelheim was able to gain more inquirers into Christianity among the people toward the end of his stay. Five converts and about fifty inquirers in Christianity were recorded by Bettelheim. Against the allegation made by some previous studies on Bettelheim, the people always showed their interest in the foreign religion throughout his stay. On three occasions (October, 1847, January, 1850, and December, 1851), Bettelheim and his wife, however, were assaulted on the island. One should note that all these cases were instigated by the officials, either Ryukyuan or Satsuma, not by the peoples' own initiative. In this study of Bettelheim, we also note that the people were the victims of the *ancien régime*. Their desire to accept new things (religion, medicine, and other new cultural values) was strictly curbed by the ruling classes. On the other hand, islanders always tried to get a new, or better, thing even under the ban against any move to change the *status quo* of the *ancien régime*.

Bettelheim struggled for the Gospel against the thick wall of the seclusion policy of Japan, which could not be overcome by the undirected effort of a few individuals. For an ordinary person, the unbearable conditions imposed by the authorities forced him to leave the island within a few years, as the French priests actually had to leave. However, Bettelheim stayed there eight years, four times as long as the others. He was really a man of perseverance and passion. As some contemporary observers commented on him as being indiscreet, Bettelheim did sometimes resort to extraordinary measures to approach the people. However, his extraordinary acts, such as forceful entry to the native houses, should be evaluated by taking into consideration the unbearable conditions imposed by the officials -- the constant surveillance and various restrictions on his life, which created his constant frustration during the eight years.

Among Bettelheim's achievements left on the island, his medical service was the greatest. His name remains on a page of the medical history of Okinawa as the introducer of smallpox vaccination. His numerous medical treatments for the people must have been regarded as a godsend by the unprivileged under the *ancien régime*. His alms for the poor were countless. The people were pleased to hear when

Bettelheim preached, "All men, including the king and the noble, are equal before God."

His least rewarded work was the translation of the Scriptures. Notwithstanding the tremendous amount of labour he spent on these, the translations were unserviceable for propagation because of the strong Ryukyuan corruption and ambiguous translation done with the unwilling interpreters' help. Soon better Japanese versions of the scriptures appeared by the labor of American missionaries (J. Globle, J. C. Hepburn, and N. Brown).

In his genuine missionary work, the harvest was not abundant. However, under the worst conditions, he did have five converts and about fifty inquirers in Christianity. In addition a martyr was dedicated for the sake of the Gospel. Today, Bettelheim's missionary zeal is still vivid in the seven thousand native Protestants' memories. In 1926, for the eightieth anniversary of Bettelheim's landing on Okinawa, a monument was erected at the temple through the good offices of the Reverend E. R. Bull. At the centennial of his departure from the island, 1954, the monument damaged during the last war was carefully rebuilt by the islanders.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. English Materials

I. Manuscript Sources

Bettelheim, Bernard J., Copied Diary (1846-54), in possession of the Church Missionary Society, London. Micrograph copy.

_______, Diary (October 17, 1846-July 7, 1847, April 9, 1853-July 25, 1853, and March 5, 1854-July 16, 1854), in possession of Mrs. Auby Hampton (a descendant of the missionary), 5315 W 64th Terrace, Shawnee Mission, Kansas.

_______, Letters (37 letters of Bettelheim sent between September 28, 1852 and November 15, 1853), in possession of Mrs. Hampton.

_______, Nine Years in Loochoo, 1846-1854, n.d. Copied by E.R. Bull. Handwritten and typewritten. The Bull Collection, University of the Ryukyus Library, Naha.

Bettelheim, Elizabeth M., Testimony of a Missionary's Wife. Being a brief Narrative of the Loo Choo Naval Mission. As viewed during Eight years residence and labors at Napakiang; Addressed to English Women, n.d. Handwritten. The Bull Collection.

Bettelheim, Moyses, Letter addressed to Bernard J. Bettelheim, Pressburg, Hungary, April 25, 1849, in possession of Dr. Geo. A. Kohut, New York City. Translated typewritten copy in the Bull Collection.

II. Major Printed Primary Sources

Bettelheim, Bernard J., *An Appeal for the Loo Choo Naval Mission*, August, 1848, London, 1849.

———, *Extracts from the Journal of the Society's Missionary, Dr. Bettelheim, 1850-1852*, ed. Loochoo Naval Mission, London, n.d.

———, "Letter from B.J. Bettelheim," *The Chinese Repository* (Canton), v. XIX, No. 1 (Jan., 1850), pp. 17-49, - v. XIX, No. 2 (Feb., 1850), pp. 57-90.

———, *Letter from B.J. Bettelheim, M.D., Missionary to the Loo Choo Island, Addressed to Rev. P. Parker, M.D., Canton*, dated March, 1851. Printed at the Office of *The Chinese Repository*, Canton, 1852.

———, "Mission to Japan," *The Independent* (New York), v. VII, No. 331 (April,1855), p. 112.

———, "Notes Recently Received from Dr. Bettelheim, and Published in the 'Jewish Intelligence,'" ed. The Loochoo Naval Mission, London, 1848.

"Description of Loochoo by a Native of China," *North China Herald* (Shanghai), No. 187 (Feb. 25, 1854) [reprinted in *Shanghai Almanac and Miscellany* for 1855].

Farre, Frederic J., ed., "Medicine in Lewchew. Introduction of Vaccination," *The Medical Times and Gazette: A Journal of Medical Science* (London), v. VII (July 2 to Dec. 31, 1853), pp. 136-38, 164-66, 188-90.

Hall, Basil, *An Account of a Voyage of Discovery to the West Coast of Corea and the Great Loo-Choo Island*, London, 1818.

Halloran, Alfred Laurence, *Wae Yang Jin: Eight Months' Journal Kept on Board One of Her Majesty's Sloops of War during Visits to Loochoo, Japan, and Pootoo*, London, 1856.

Hawks, Francis L., *Narrative of the Expedition of an American Squadron to the China Seas and Japan Performed in the Years 1852, 1853, 1854, under the Command of Commodore M.C. Perry, United States Navy*, v. I, Washington, 1856.

Loochoo Naval Mission, *Copy of the first Letter addressed to the Christian Public on the Mission*, March 15, 1843, Dingle, Kerry, Ireland.

________, *Prospectus of the Loochoo Mission*, Sept. 30, 1843.

________, *Prospectus*, April 24, 1844.

________, *Copy of the Instruction*, Sept. 1, 1845.

________, *Circular for the Information of Contributors*, 1846. (The first report of the LNM).

________, *Circular for the Information of Contributors*, 1847. (The second report of the LNM).

________, *Circular for the Information of Contributors, with Report for 1847 to 1st July, 1848*, 1848. (The third report of the LNM).

________, *Report of the Loochoo Naval Mission for 1848*, 1849. (The fourth report of the LNM).

________, *Report of the Loo-Choo Naval Mission for 1849-50*, 1850. (The fifth report of the LNM).

________, *The Claims of Loo Choo on British Liberality*, 5th ed., London, c. 1850, irregular pagination.

________, *Report of the Loo-Choo Naval Mission for 1850-51*, 1851. (The sixth report of the LNM).

________, *The Seventh Report of the Loochoo Mission Society for 1851-52*, 1853.

________, *The Eighth Report of the Loochoo Mission Society for 1853-54*, 1855.

________, *Occasional Paper*, Nov., 1855.

________, *Occasional Paper*, Feb., 1856.

________, *Occasional Paper*, March, 1856.

________, *Occasional Paper*, April, 1857.

McCauley, Edward Yorke, *With Perry in Japan: The Diary of Edward Yorke McCauley*, ed. Allen B. Cole, Princeton, 1942.

M'Leod, John, *Narrative of a Voyage, in His Majesty's late ship Alceste, to the Yellow Sea, along the Coast of Corea, and through the Numerous and Hitherto Undiscovered Islands, to the Island of Lewchew, with an account of her shipwreck in the Straits of Gasper*, London, 1817.

"Our Relations with Japan," *New York Daily Times*, March 31, 1855, p. 8.

"Protestant Missions among the Chinese," *The Chinese Repository* (Canton), v. XX, No. 8 (Aug., 1851), pp. 539-41.

"Report of a Visit to Lewchew by H.M.M. Screw Sloop *Reynard* (Capt. Cracroft) Carrying the Bishop of Victoria," *The Chinese Repository*, v. XIX (1850), p. 623.

U.S. Senate, "Cruise of the U.S. Sloop-of-war *Preble*, Commander James Glynn, To Napa and Nagasacki," U.S. Senate Documents: 32nd Congress, 1st Session (1851-2), v. IX, Executive Documents, No. 59, Ser. 620, pp. 44-45.

________, "James Glynn to the President, Washington, June 10, 1851," U.S. Senate Documents: 32nd Congress, 1st Session (1851-52), v. IX, Executive Documents, No. 59, Ser. 620, p. 76.

"Sketches in Loo Choo," *The Illustrated London News*, v. 18, March 8, 1851, p. 187.

Smith, George, *Lewchew and the Lewchewans; Being a Narrative of a Visit to Lewchew, or Loo Choo, In October, 1850*, London, 1853.

________, *Ten Weeks in Japan*, London, 1861.

Spalding, J.W., *Japan and around the World*, New York, 1855.

Taylor, Bayard, *A Visit to India, China, and Japan, in the year 1853*, New York, 1893.

"Visit of the *Reynard* to Ryukyu in Oct. 1850," *China Mail* (Shanghai), No. 303 (Nov. 28, 1850).

"Visit of the *Sphinx* to Ryukyu in Feb. 1852," *China Mail*, No. 368 (March 4, 1852).

Williams, S. Wells, "A Journal of the Perry Expedition to Japan (1853-1854)," *Transaction of the Asiatic Society of Japan* (Tokyo), v. XXXVII, part II, 1910, pp. 1-259.

Williams, Frederick Well, *The Life and Letters of Samuel Wells Williams, LL.D.*, New York, 1889.

III. BOOKS

Beasley, W.G., *Great Britain and the Opening of Japan, 1834 - 1858*, London, 1951.

Bernards, John Henry, *The Bernards of Kerry*, Dublin, 1922.

Broughton, W.R., *A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean . . . in the Years 1795, 1796, 1797, and 1798*, London, 1804.

Bull, Earl R., *Okinawa or Ryukyu: The Floating Dragon*, Newark, Ohio, 1958.

Canton, William, *A History of the British and Foreign Bible Society*, v. III, London, 1909.

Cary, Otis, *A History of Christianity in Japan; Protestant Missions*, New York, 1909.

________, *A History of Christianity in Japan; Roman and Greek Orthodox Missions*, New York, 1909.

Cole, Allan B., ed., *Yankee Surveyors in the Shogun's Seas, Records of the United States Surveying Expedition to the North Pacific Ociean, 1853-56*, Princeton, 1947.

Costin, W.C., *Great Britain and China, 1833-1860*, Oxford, 1937.

Gast, Ross H., *Lew Chew or Ryukyu Islands: with Commodore Perry in 1853*, Hollywood, 1945.

Kerr , George H., *Okinawa; The History of an Island People*, 5th ed., Rutland, Vermont, and Tokyo, 1965.

Latourette, Kenneth S., *A History of Christian Missions in China*, New York, 1929.

Laure, Johannes, *The Catholic Church in Japan: A Short History*, Tokyo, 1954.

Morse , H.B., *The International Relations of the Chinese Empire* (3 vols.), v. I, *The Period of Conflict 1834-1860*, London, 1910.

Murdoch, James, *History of Japan*, v. III, London 1926.

Schwartz, Henry B., *In Togo's Country*, New York, 1908.

________, *The Loochoo Island: A Chapter in Missionary History*, Tokyo, c. 1907.

Stock, Eugene, *The History of the Church Missionary Society*, v. II, London, 1890.

Swisher, Earl, *China's Management of the American Barbarians: A Study of Sino-American Relations, 1841-1861, with Documents*, New Haven, 1953.

Walworth, Arthur, *Black Ships off Japan: The Story of Commodore Perry's Expedition*, New York, 1946.

Wylie, Alexander, *Memorials of Protestant Missionaries to the Chinese*, Shanghai, 1867.

IV. Articles

Bowman, J.J.B., "Account of the Wreck of the Indian Oak," *The Nautical Magazine and Naval Chronicle for 1841*, London, 1841, pp. 299-308, 385-94.

Bull, Earl R., "Bettelheim as Physician, Jew, Layman, and Translator," *The Japan Evangelist* (Tokyo), v. XXXIII (1925), No. 5, pp. 153-59.

________, "The Trials of the Trail Blazer, Bettelehim," *The Japan Evangelist* (Tokyo), v. XXXII (1925), No. 2, pp. 51-59; No. 3, pp. 87-93.

Higaonna, Kanjun, "The Bible in the Loochoo Dialect," *The Japan Magazine* (Tokyo), v. XVI, No. 2 (Nov., 1925), pp. 50-52.

________, "Dr. Bettelheim's Study of the Loochoo Language," *The Japan Magazine* (Tokyo), v. XVI, No. 3 (Dec., 1925), pp. 78-81.

Sakai, Robert, "The Satsuma-Ryukyu Trade and the Tokugawa Seclusion Policy," *Journal of Asian Studies* (Ann Arbor, Michigan), *XXII*, No. 3 (May, 1964), pp. 391-403.

Schwartz, William L., "Commodore Perry at Okinawa; from the unpublished Diary of a British Missionary," *American Historical Review* (Washington), v. LI, No. 2 (Jan., 1946), pp. 262-76.

Teruya, Yoshihiko, "The missionaries in the mid-19th century Ryukyu," *Proceedings of the Second Biennial Conference of International Association of Historians of Asia*, 1962, Taipei, Taiwan, pp. 319-26.

_________, "A British missionary in Okinawa," read before the International Conference on Asian History, at the University of Hongkong, Hongkong, Sept. 4, 1964, Paper No. 84.

"The Varied Career of a Loo Choo Missionary," *The Kansas City Star*, Sept. 9, 1924, p. 22.

Whitney, H.T., "Protestant Mission Work in the Loochoo Island," *The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal* (Shanghai), V. XVIII (1887), pp. 468-72.

V. Memo and Letter

Memo of Arthur E. Bettelheim, the third in descent from the missionary, n.d. (c. 1920's), in possession of Mrs. Hampton, his dauthter.

Letter of A.J. Grossman, a newphew of the missionary, of London, dated October 3, 1927, no addressee (probably to Mr. Arthur E. Bettelheim), in possession of Mrs. Hampton.

VI. Theses and Dissertations

Chên, Ta-tuan, "Sino-Liu-Ch'iuan Relations in the Nineteenth Century," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 1963.

Matsuda, Mitsugu, "The British and Ryukyus, 1600-1879," unpublished Master's dissertation, University of Hawaii, 1962.

________, "The Government of the Kingdom of Ryukyu, 1609-1872," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Hawaii, 1967.

B. Japanese Materials

I. Manuscript Sources

Ryukyu Ōcho 琉球王庁 [Royal Office of the Ryukyus], Kyu Ryukyuhan Hyōjōjo Shorui 旧琉球藩評定所書類 [Documents of the State Council of the Former Ryukyu Clan (Kingdom)], 1846-54, no pagination, in possession of Tokyo University. Elefax copy.

II. Major Printed Primary Sources

Bettelheim, Berhard J., *Pōro ki Rōmajin Sho* 保羅寄羅馬人書 [The Epistle to the Romans], Hongkong, 1855.

________, *Rukaden Fukuinsho* 路加伝福音書 [The Gospel of Luke], Hongkong, 1855.

________, Seisa Genkōden 聖差言行伝 [The Acts of the Apostles], Hongkong, 1855.

________, *Yohaneden Fukuinsho* 約翰伝福音書 [The Gospel of John], Hongkong, 1855.

________, *Rukaden Fukuinsho* 路加伝福音書 [The Gospel of Luke], Hongkong, 1858.

________, *Rukaden Fukuinsho* 路加伝福音書 [The Gospel of Luke], Vienna, 1873.

________, *Yohaneden Fukuinsho* 約翰伝福音書 [The Gospel of John], Vienna, 1873.

________, *Shito Gyōden* 使徒行伝 [The Acts of the Apostles], Vienna, 1874.

Goncharov, Ivan A., *Nihon Tokōki* 日本渡航記 [Account of the Voyage to Japan] (Excerpt from *Polnoe Sobranie Sochinenii* [Collected Works], v. II, *Fregat Pallada*, St. Petersburg, 1884), trans. Inoue Mitsuru 井上満, Tokyo, 1941.

Ishinshiryō Hensanjimukyoku, 維新史料編纂事務局 [Editorial Office of the Historical Materials of the Meiji Restoration], *Dai Nihon Ishin Shiryō* 大日本維新史料 [Historical Materials of the Meiji Restoration of Great Japan], sec. I, 6 vols; sec. II, v. I, Tokyo, 1938.

Shimazu Nariakira Monjo Kankōkai 島津斉彬文書刊行会 [Publishing Society for the Documents Relating to Shimazu Nariakira], Shimazu Nariakira Monjo 島津斉彬文書 [Documents Relating to Shimazu Nariakira], v. I (1959), v. II (1963), Tokyo.

Tokyo Teikoku Daigaku 東京帝国大学 [Tokyo Imperial University], ed. *Bakumatsu Gaikokukankei Monjo* 幕末外国関係文書 [Materials Relating to Foreign Relations in the Latter Tokugawa Regime], v. I, Tokyo, 1910.

III. Books

Bunkyō Kyoku (Ryukyu Seifu) 琉球政府文教局 [Department of Education, Government of the Ryukyu Islands], ed., *Betteruhaimu* 伯徳令 [Bettelheim], Naha, 1954.

Hamano, Shōkichi 浜野章吉, ed., *Kaikyū Kiji* 懐旧紀事 [Reminiscences: The Achievements of Abe Isenokami], Tokyo, 1899.

Haraguni, Seichō 原国政朝, ed., *Tsūzoku Ryukyushi* 通俗琉球史 [The Popular History of the Ryukyus], Naha, 1957.

Higa, Sunchō 比嘉春潮, *Okinawa no Reikishi* 沖縄の歴史 [A History of Okinawa], Naha, 1959.

Hiane, Antei 比安根安定, *Nihon Kinsei Kirisutokyō Jinbutsushi* 日本近世基督教人物史 [A History of Modern Japanese Chrisitans] Tokyo, 1935.

________, *Nihon Kirisutokyōshi* 日本基督教史 [History of Christianity in Japan], v. IV, Tokyo, 1941.

________, *Nihon Shūkyōshi* 日本宗教史 [History of Japanese Religions], Tokyo, 1925.

Higaonna, Kanjun 東恩納寛惇, *Nantō Ronkō* 南島論攷 [The Study on the Southern Islands (the Ryukyus)], Tokyo, 1961.

________, *Ryukyu no Rekishi* 琉球の歴史 [A History of the Ryukyus], Tokyo, 1958.

________, *Sho Taikō Jitsuroku* 尚泰侯実録 [Authentic Account on Marquis Sho Tai (the last king of the Ryukyus)], Tokyo, 1924.

Iha, Fuyū 伊波普猷, *Ko Ryukyu* 古琉球 [The Ryukyus in Old Times], Tokyo, 1942.

Inobe, Shigeo 井野辺茂雄, *Shintei Ishinzenshi no Kenkyu* 新訂維新前史の研究 [The Study of the Preceding History of the Restoration, new ed.], Tokyo, 1942.

Ishinshiryō Hensankai 維新史料編纂会 [Editorial Society for the Historical Materials of the Meiji Restoration], ed. *Ishinshi* 維新史 [History of the Meiji Restoration], v. I, Tokyo, 1942.

Kagoshima Ken 鹿児島県 [Kagoshima Prefecture], ed., *Kagoshima Kenshi* 鹿児島県史 [History of Kagoshima Prefecture], v. III, Tokyo, 1941.

Kajima, Morinosuke 鹿島守之助, *Nichi-Ei Gaikōshi* 日英外交史 [History of the Foreign Relations between Japan and England], Tokyo, 1957.

Kerama, Chitoku 慶良間知徳, *Naha Kojitsushū* 那覇古実集 [Collection of the Antiquities of Naha], n.p., 1929.

Kishimoto, Hideo 岸本英夫, ed., *Shūkyō Hen* 宗教編 [The Volume on Religion], v. VI of *Meji Bunkashi* 明治文化史 [The Cultural History of the Meiji Period], Tokyo, 1954.

Kishaba, Chōken 喜舎場朝賢, *Tōtei Zuihitsu* 東汀随筆 [Essay of Tōtei], Naha, 1934.

Majikina, Ankō 真境名安興, *Okinawa Issennenshi* 沖縄一千年史 [A Thousand Year History of Okinawa], 4th ed., Naha, 1952.

Rekishigaku Kenkyūkai 歴史学研究会 [Society for the Study of History], ed., *Meiji Ishinshi Kenkyū Kōza* 明治維新史研究講座 [Lectures on the Study of the Meiji Restoration], v. II, Tokyo, 1962.

Shigehisa, Tokutarō 重久徳太郎, *Nihon Kinsei Eeigakushi* 日本近英学史 [History of the Study of English in Modern Japan], Tokyo, 1941.

Sagahara, Ryōichi 相原良一, *Tenpo Hachinen Beisen Morisongō Torai no Kenkyū* 天保八年米船モリソン号渡来の研究 [A Study on the Visit of the American Ship *Morrison* in 1837], Tokyo, 1954.

Shimabukuro, Genichirō 島袋源一郎, *Densetsu Hoi Okinawa Rekishi* 伝説補遺 沖縄歴史 [History of Okinawa, Supplemented with Legends], Kyoto, 1932.

________, *Ryukyu Hyakuwa* 琉球百話 [Various Accounts of the Ryukyus], Naha, 1941.

Shimabukuro, Zenpatsu 島袋全発, *Naha Hensenki* 那覇変遷記 [Account on the Transition of Naha] Naha, 1930.

Tabohashi, Tsuyoshi 田保橋潔, *Zōtei Kindai Nihon Gaikokukankeishi* 増訂 近代日本外国関係史 [History of the Foreign Relations of Modern Japan, enlarged ed.], Tokyo, 1943.

Teruya, Kanpan 照屋寛範, *Okinawa no Shūkyō, Dozoku* 沖縄の宗教・土俗 [The Religion and Local Customs of Okinawa], Naha, 1963.

Tokutomi, Iichirō 徳富猪一郎, *Bakufu Jitsuryoku Shittsui Jidai* 幕府実力失墜時代 [The Period of the bakufu's Fall from Power], v. 29 of *Kinsei Nihonkokuminshi* 近世日本国民史 [Modern Japanese History], Tokyo, 1935.

________, *Peruri Raikō izen no Keisei* 彼理来航以前の形勢 [The State of Affairs prior to the Visit of Commodore Perry's Expedition], v. 30 of *Kinsei Nihonkokuminshi* 近世日本國民史 [Modern Japanese History], Tokyo, 1935.

Toyota, Minoru 豊田実, *Baiburu Hōyaku no Yurai* バイブル邦訳の由来 [A History of the Translation of the Bible into Japanese], Fukuoka, Japan, 1946.

________, *Nihon Eigakushi no Kenkyu* 日本英学史の研究 [A Study on the History of Japanese Study of English], Tokyo, 1963.

Watanabe, Shujirō 渡辺修二郎, *Nihon Kaikoku Kigenshi* 日本開国起原史 [The History of the Origin of the Opening of Japan], Tokyo, 1910.

IV. Articles

Akao, Tōichi 赤尾藤市, "Fukkoku no Ryukyu Kaikō Yōkyu to Edo Bakufu no Taisaku 佛國の琉球開港要求と江戸幕府の對策 [The French Demand on the Opening of the Ryukyus and the Edo Bakufu's Countermove]," *Shirin* (Kyoto), v. XXV, No. 3 (Aug., 1940), pp. 72-86.

________, "Peri Torai zengo niokeru Taigai Kokumin Shisō no Kōsatsu ペリー渡来前後に於ける對外國民思想の考察 [A Study of Popular Thought in Regard to Foreigners at the Time of Perry's Arrival]," *Shirin* (Kyoto), v. XXII, No. 3 (July, 1937), pp. 529-54, and v. XXII, No. 4 (Oct., 1937), pp. 573-83.

Bull, Earl R., "Betteruhaimu no Kotodomo ベッテルハイムのことども [On Bettelheim]," *Ryukyu Shinpō* (Naha), March 24-April 13, 1926.

________, "Peruri Teitoku izen no Bunmei Shidōsha Betteruhaimu ペルリ提督以前の文明の指導者伯徳令 [Bettelheim; The Leader of Civilization before Commodore Perry]," *The Okinawa Times* (Naha), March 20-April 15, 1926.

Doi, Tadao 土井忠生, "Betteruhaimu no Ryukyugo ni kansuru Chojutsu ベッテルハイムの琉球語に関する著述 [Bettelheim's Work on the Ryukyuan Language]," *Hōgen*(Tokyo), v. IV, No. 10 (1921), pp. 211-18.

Hiane, Antei 比安根安定, "Nanmin nu Ganchō Betteruhaimu 波上ぬ眼鏡ベッテルハイム [The Bespectacled Man of Naminoue, Bettelheim]," *Okinawa* (Tokyo), No. 29 (June, 1953), pp. 6-8.

Higaonna, Kanjun 東恩納寛惇, "Ryuyaku Seisho ni tsuite 琉訳聖書について [On the Ryukyuan Versions of the Bible]," *Tōa no Hikari* (Tokyo), v. VIII, No. 7 (July, 1912), pp. 59-65.

Hokama, Seishō 外間政章, "Betteruhaimu-hakase to Kare no Nikki ベッテルハイム博士と彼の日記 [Dr. Bettelheim and His Diary]," *Ryukyu Shinpō* (Naha), Aug. 30, 1955, p. 4.

________, "Puratto-funjin o Tazunete プラット夫人を訪ねて [The Visit to Mrs. Pratt]," *The Okinawa Times*(Naha), Aug. 25, 1954, p. 4.

Kamiyama, Honjun 神山本淳, "Betteruhaimu ni Tsuite ベッテルハイムに就いて [On Bettelheim]," *Ryukyu Shinpō* (Naha), April 27-May 12, 1926.

Majikina, Ankō 真境名安興, "Betteruhaimu to Okinawa no Ijutsu, Shutōhō no Kami ベッテルハイムと沖縄の医術・種痘法の神 [Bettelheim and Okinawan Medicine, A God of Vaccination]," *Okinawan Asahi Shinbun* (Naha), May 20, 1926.

Miyara, Masamori 宮良当壮, "Betteruhaimu-hakase no Gyōseki ベッテルハイム博士の業績 [The Achievements of Dr. Bettelheim]," *The Okinawa Times* (Naha), Aug. 28-30, 1954.

________, "Ryukyu Seisho no Kenkyu 琉球聖書の研究 [Study on the Ryukyuan Versions of the Bible]," *Nihon no Kotoba* (Tokyo), v. I, No. 2 (July, 1947), pp. 30-32; no. 3 (Aug., 1947), pp. 26-29; No. 4 (Sept., 1947), pp. 30-31.

Sasaki, Motsuki 佐々木勿来, "Ryukyu Hogokoku ni taisuru Furansu no Shinryakuteki Ito 琉球保護国に対する仏蘭西の侵略的意図 [The Aggressive Design of France to the Ryukyuan Protectorate]," *Rekishi Kōron* (Tokyo), v. II, No. 3 (1933), p. 5.

Yoshida, Tsunekichi 吉田常吉, "Ryukyu ni okeru Betteruhaimu no Dendō 琉球におけるベッテルハイムの伝道 [The Missionary Work of Bettelheim in the Ryukyus]," *Okinawa Rekishi Kenkyū* (Naha), No. 3 (May, 1966), pp. 1-18; No. 3 (Nov., 1966), pp. 1-31; No. 4 (July, 1967), pp. 1-20.

C. Chinese Materials

I. Manuscript Sources (listed alphabetically by titles)

Li Tai Pao An, Pieh Chi 歷代寶案・別集 [Valuable Records of Successive Generations, Separate Volume]. The collection of correspondence between the Ch'ing government and the Ryukyu government concerning the French, English, and American visitors to the Ryukyus in 1846-1855, in possession of Kamakura Yoshitarō, 248 Numabukuro, Nakano, Tokyo, Cyanotype copy of the manuscript.

Lin Ch'i Chi 稟啓集 [The Collection of Correspondence (between the Ryukyu government and Bettelheim and other foreigners)], May 2, 1846-April 11, 1848, in possession of Kishaba Eishō, Ishigaki, Yaeyama, Okinawa. Micrograph copy.

Po-tê-ling Ch'i T'a Wang Fu Wên 伯徳令其他往復文 [The letters exchanged with Bettelheim and other (foreigners)], 2 vols., Jan. 8, 1850-Jan. 2, 1854, comp. the Royal Office of the Ryukyus, in possession of the Higaonna Memorial Library, Naha, Okinawa.

Liu Ying Wang Fu Wên, 琉英往覆文 [Letters exchanged between the Ryukyus and England], 1849-1851, in possession of Kuraga Yakan, of Edomizaka, Tomoe-chō, Shiba-ku, Tokyo. Mimeograph copy.

II. Major Printed Primary Sources

Ch'ing Tai Ch'ou Pan I Wu Shih Mo 清代籌辦夷務始末 [The Management of Barbarian Affairs of the Ch'ing Dynasty from Beginning to end], 80 vols., Palace Museum, Peiping, 1930. Documents relating to the French and English missionaries in the Ryukyus are in the 73rd, 74th, 77th, 79th, and 80th *chüan* (books) of the Tao-kuang series, and the 3rd, 4th, 6th, 7th, and 10th *chüan* of the Hsien-fêng series.

D. French Materials

I. Manuscript Sources

Forcade, Theodore Augustin, Journal (April 26-Sept. 27, 1846), in possession of the archive of the Missions Etrangères, Paris (7e). Photostat copy.

II. Major Printed Primary Sources

Bettelheim, Bernard J., "La Ruine du Talmud," *L'Echo de L'Orient* (Smyrna), No. 84 (1840), pp. 1-20.

Forcade, Theodore Augustin, "Archipel de Liou-Tchou [Lettre de Grande Loutchou]," *Revue de l'Orient* (Paris), v. X, No. 10 (Aug., 1845), pp. 257-68.

________, "Mission des Iles Lieou-Kieou," *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi* (Lyon), v. XVIII (1846), pp. 363-83.

"Les Missionnaires aux Lieou-Kieou," *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi* (Lyon), v. XXVI (1848), pp. 438-58; v. XXIX (1850), pp. 293-96.

LeTurde, M., "Mission de Liou-Kiou," *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi* (Lyon), v. XXI (1849), pp. 236-55.

III. Books and Articles

Cordier, Henri, "Les Français aux îles Lieou K'ieou," *Mélanges d'histoire et de géographie orientales* (Paris), v. I (1914), pp. 296-317.

Marbot, l'Abbé E., *Vie de Monseigneur Forcade*, Paris, 1886.

Marnas, Francisque, *La "Réligion de Jésus"* (Iaso-Ja-Kyo) Ressuscittée au Japon dans *la seconde moitié du XIXe siecle*, v. I, Paris, 1897.